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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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The Standard.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Tenth anniversay. Met at 10 o'clock, Tuesday morning, at the Apollo Hall, in Broadway. There were present a large number of the friends of the cause. William Lloyd Garrison, president of the society, took the chair, and called the meeting to order. He observed that this society was made up of persons entertaining various political and religious opinions, though united in sentiment on the question of slavery. The society had therefore no set forms or ceremonies, and if any one was desirous of so doing, there was now an opportunity of offering up vocal or silent prayer. This was a free platform. Here no fetters would be thrown round the soul.

Dr. Brisbane, of Ohio, then rose and addressed the throne of grace in a brief, and fervent prayer.

Mr. Garrison then addressed the society as follows:

I congratulate this society on this, its tenth anniversary, that it still holds its important and sublime position as the uncompromising foe of slavery; the untiring friend of universal emancipation—that its principles are unshaken, its doctrines uncorrupted, its measures rational, energetic, and effective; its purposes humane, glorious, godlike; its victories, heart-inspiring and wonderful. I congratulate this society this day, that it is still favored, detested, and assailed, by all that is corrupt, oppressive, and fiendish, in our country—that it is still the terror of the oppressors, still the hope of the oppressed, still the sheet-anchor of the cause of liberty. I congratulate the members and friends of this society, that while they are, in this country, reviled and calumniated, and rejected by the mass of the people, the friends of freedom, humanity, and of God, in all other parts of the world, are cheering us on, and bidding us "God speed," and praying ceaselessly to God, that we may be able to stand in the evil day, and finally to achieve a glorious victory. Finally, I congratulate you that you are enlisted in a great, sacred, and holy cause—the cause of liberty—that you have your country's declaration of independence on your side—that you have the gospel of Jesus Christ with you—that you have the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and the Lamb of God with you—that you have the eternal spirit of Truth with you—that you have the everlasting and omnipotent God with you; and that if you will but persevere, and be united, and walk in faith and holy trust on the promises of God, your victory over all oppression, is as certain as that God lives and reigns. We meet under circumstances of thrilling interest, and of deep importance. Perhaps not since the society was organized, has there been an anniversary of so much importance to the cause as the present; certainly none more so. We see an effort made to annex a foreign territory to our country, for the express and avowed purpose of extending slavery and the slave-trade, and still have reason to believe that efforts to accomplish the diabolical object, will, in the end, be successful; it is therefore necessary for us to know what and where we are, and what to do. For one, I consider that the time has come for the true friends of liberty to declare off from the government, and acknowledge no allegiance to it—to hoist the banner of repeal, and rally under that banner alone, in the United States of America. (Cheers.) We need among ourselves union—a union in principle, and for the sake of principle. We do not need a multitude to go with us, in order to achieve a great and glorious victory; but relying on the strong arm of God, and on the steady even victory of being in the right, we have only to engage with the right spirit, and rally under the right banner, to achieve all that is in our hearts' desire to see achieved. O, let nothing divide us: Let us rally as one man: Let us be as true to the cause of the slave, as the slave is to tyrants, or tyrants to the cause of slavery; and when we shall thus rally and unite, we need not fear that we shall overcome all opposition, for then, nothing can withstand us. [Mr. Garrison here quoted a beautiful piece of poetry, and sat down amidst the cheers of the delighted audience.]

Mr. *Adin Ballou*, of Hopedale, Massachusetts, was now introduced to the meeting. His subject was political and moral power. Political power was the power of the body politic—to compel by pains and penalties. Moral power, is the power which addresses itself to the intellect, the moral sentiment, the reason, the understanding, and the passions of mankind, inducing voluntary actions. The speaker proceeded to contrast the effects of moral and political power. Some say the one runs into the other; but is this true? Does not moral power stop where political power begins? Does the human mind feel persuaded a single moment, after we begin to drive it? Clearly not: and our treatment of children, fortifies this position. He would show the superiority of moral, over political power. An analysis of political power was given. Who here exercise political power? The people. Who are the people? The voters. How large a portion of the people are voters? One-fourth part, at least. One-fourth of the people, then, exercise political power. The qualifications to exercise the power, are these: The candidate for citizenship must assent to the Constitution—must take the oath of allegiance, and unite with the one-fourth, to rule the three-fourths. And of this one-fourth, how many exercise a real influence? One tenth? No; not more than one in fifty. To accomplish any political reform, you must first exercise a moral power. Political power is reduced to a small compass. It is a small minority, then that inflicts pains and penalties on criminals. Now the practical workings of political power—a great moral measure is proposed—the abolition of slavery, for instance; for, we propose to carry this matter into the political arena. Now, can you obtain your majority without some previous process, which shall change the public sentiment? No, a great moral flood must sweep over the land before you can obtain such a power. Those who wield it have to make pledges and compromise pure morality. It can be used only with respect to a few of the great outward actions of life. But it cannot proceed without an immense moral power to prepare the way for it, and to sustain it. Political power is always more or less suspected of selfish and impious motives, and of attempting wrong to get power.—The only valuable laws among our people are, such as moral power predisposes them to respect and obey. How many laws there are on our statute-books at this moment, in our several States, which it is not in the power of the public to exact.

I come then to analyse moral power. We have one hundredth part of two-thirds of one-fourth that exercise political power; but who exercises moral power? I answer, every human being. But we know very well that it is far from being exercised to wise and just ends. He would look for a moment at religious influence. There are between twenty-five and thirty thousand ministers in the United States, and these deliver from 40 to 50,000 set discourses every week; now, suppose these should exert their influence in favor of a high moral sentiment, and universal justice, all cherishing a deep and abiding abhorrence of slavery, such as they would feel if their own wives and children were suffering its miseries; what would be the result of their influence? What would be the effect, if our thirty thousand churches should breathe in all their prayer meetings, public and private, the spirit of freedom and justice? Let all those who teach and superintend in our Sabbath schools have this matter at heart, and let all their efforts be directed to the putting down of slavery;—what would be the effect? Then, let all our theological seminaries, tract, Bible, education, and missionary societies, with all that they write, and all that they publish, be impregnated with this principle of liberty and right; let them bear one united testimony against slavery, and who can estimate the glorious results which would ensue? Farther, what would be the effect if all other influences were brought to bear upon this subject—if all our schools, lyceums, lectures, authors, teachers, professors, family circles, sculptors, painters, engravers, musicians, &c. &c, should devote their time and talents to the furtherance of this good cause? And finally, let the female influence of this land be turned against oppression, and burst out in favor of the abolition of slavery, and how long, think ye, before the great work would be achieved, and the song of liberty and happiness go up from the land, now stained with the blood of souls. Shall we put this power into operation? Do this, and all the people of this land will be free—free indeed.

Charles W. Denison, of Boston, next addressed the meeting. He would not have spoken had he not desired to reply to some of the arguments of Mr. Ballou. He would object to some of the positions of his brother, because they take away one of the attributes of God—they take away the exercise of power to reward, as well as punish the guilty. (Cheers, and cries of hear, hear.) For, if it be wrong for me to exercise power over the tyrant, it would be wrong in the Almighty to do it. That which is wrong in me, as a child of God, is wrong in Him, as my Father. By this very ground you dethrone the Almighty. Slavery is a moral and practical evil, indentified with the government of our country, upheld by its laws, and we must bring law to bear upon it. We have a weapon which executes the freeman's will as lightning does the will of God. 'Tis the ballot-box. This is an exhibition of moral power, and should on no account be abandoned. It might be a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, but it would soon spread over the whole country, producing showers of mercy upon this whole land. Political power might be no bigger than a man's hand, as seen through the tower of moral suasion, but it will meet the clouds coming from New-York and from Kentucky, and will, bye and bye, sweep away the last vestige of slavery. He appealed to Isaac Hopper, on his right, if he did not think he was right as an anti-slavery man, when he appealed to the civil power. Slavery had become interwoven in the texture of political power, and political action must remove it. He believed it was impossible to reform the world by moral means alone. He would persuade and entreat until it was of no avail, and he would then resort to the exercise of political rights, to do away with that which moral suasion failed to abolish. He believed that the same spirit which raised Jesus Christ to the cross, was rampant here. It was seen in the lashing of your Amos Dressers in the streets, in the burning of your Pennsylvania Halls, and in the shooting of your Lovejoys. It is in vain to hope to convert the world by preaching repentance and reform. We must fight! we must war, war—not by blood and bayonets, but by the mighty weapon of the living God—the ballot-box. (Applause.) Let it be remembered that this weapon is now in use. It had been declared by the illustrious gentleman, who is nominated for President of the United States, that he cared comparatively little for anti-slavery enterprise, when confined to tracts, pulpits, and prayer meetings; but, when he heard that they were about to resort to the ballot-box, he trembled on the floor of the Senate. The Speaker could even see written on the walls of Ashland, "*mene, mene, tekel, Upharsin;* thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting." He spoke, not in spite, but because men had been made to feel that there was no power that can withstand slavery in this country, but the civil power of the land. He would only put the question. The son of God had declared that there are those who shall be destroyed by the brightness of his coming; and here is a friend who comes and tells us that moral power is to reform the world, and bring it back to its allegiance with God. He had only to ask, which shall we believe, the Lord God of Heaven and earth, or Adin Ballou, of Hopedale? (Cheers and hisses, long and loud.)

William Lloyd Garrison again arose. He claimed a right to reply to the man who had just sat down—a man who had declared that females should not be heard in our country—(cheers.) The man who had attempted to destroy the anti-slavery society because it would gag none—(tremendous cheering, mingled with hisses.) Hast n't he been heard freely, quietly, liberally, to his heart's content; and I ask, if in view of these facts, greater audacity was ever seen in any one. (Cries of never, never, and continued applause and hissing.) I ask if he is anything but a wolf in sheep's clothing? I pronounce him a Benedict Arnold, an apostate, a traitor—(cries of hear, hear.) A conspirator, who strove to curse the anti-slavery cause—(cheers and hisses.)

Mr. *Dennison* here arose, and said, "I can only say my friends, I am alive yet!"

C. C. Burleigh, then rose. Mr. Garrison, however, interrupted him with the remark, "It would seem that our friend had felt a blow so severe," said he "that it was doubtful whether he had survived, and he was obliged to assure his friends that he was still alive." Mr. Burleigh proceeded:—as I have the platform in due order it is my right to proceed, and I shall proceed. And he did proceed. He had stood up to speak for the cause of the slave when it exposed him as the target of the mob. He had also learned a lesson to-day. He had learned that the weapon of God is the ballot-box. Christians should arm themselves with the helmet of salvation, and wield the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word, the Truth of God. This would do the work. His friend had said, "what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder:"—but where was the evidence that God had joined the gospel of Jesus Christ and the ballot-box together? The ballot-box is nothing but executive power, and executive power means the bayonet. Political power is only its sheath. We are told that the principle advanced denies God's right to punish. Has not God a right to punish? and what God has a right to do, man has a right to do—a very convenient syllogism. I deny it. The father inflicts punishment on his child; has the child a right to punish also? Slavery is the creator of law, and ought to be abolished without law. All the statutes in the world will not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or in the southern States. The Constitution guarantees me the right of preaching the abolition of slavery in Carolina, and the South, generally, yet a halter awaits me the moment I attempt it. You cannot make slavery more unlawful than it now is. It is not driven out of the Union because the executive cannot and will not do it. It is because moral power has not yet achieved its triumph. Slavery has shut me out of one half the Union, in the face of laws and constitutions, notwithstanding the law is against it, and almost out of the other half also. Notwithstanding the statute of 1787, notwithstanding the decisions of the judiciary, notwithstanding the dictates of common sense, slavery still continued in the northwestern territory. Yet slavery is there unlawful, and has been so declared, yet the local courts have overruled these decisions, and affixed slavery on its victims. What is the value of law in South Carolina against public opinion. And look at the decision in the Pennsylvania case, when the United States Court have declared it lawful to tear away man without trial—without hearing, without proof, merely on the demand of the slaveholder.

Law cannot destroy slavery because (he repeated) it was the creature, not the creator of slavery. Common law and all the commentators have decided that whatever is contrary to nature, or contrary to the law of God, is unlawful. So all courts have declared, and in time by these decisions slavery will be destroyed. Besides, how can that be lawful which is wrong in one place, and be right, yet lawful, in another. Let any man try to introduce slavery into a State where it does not exist, and let him get laws passed to that effect, and he will soon ascertain whether it is the creature of law. Let the politician try it. Aye, let him who is now the popular candidate, who is borne on the tide of overwhelming enthusiasm, let him try it, and how long will his popularity last.

No, slavery does not come on by law; it begins by the example of one, then it is followed by another; it thus steals slyly but gradually on till the slaveholders league together, and then they designate their usurpation by the name of law. Legislation is the creature, not the creator, of slavery, which comes finally to act in a legislative and executive capacity. If slavery was lawful, how was it in the case of Latimer? What is law when public sentiment takes ground against it? Public sentiment must be changed, and then the laws will be changed. Law will go just as fast and no faster. Correct the world by preaching the truth.

He had no objections to let those try who believed in the ballot-box, or in reforming the church, or all other similar measures, only I do not so understand it. Leave us, therefore, to our own convictions. Our natures are adapted to the actual state of things. That moral influence which now appears no bigger than a little cloud, is destined to spread over the whole sky. It will cover alike the just and unjust, not the unjust alone. Leave other means to others, but let us rely on Him who causes his sun to shine on the evil and on the good.

Mr. *C. W. Dennison* rose to reply to a charge of hypocrisy made by Mr. Garrison. He felt very happy that he did not rise to speak immediately after it was made, as it gave him time to cool down, and to hear his friend Charles Burleigh. He would only say, by their fruits ye shall know them. He would assure the audience that if they should come into a meeting where he was he would not brand them as an apostate, hypocrite, &c., merely because they happened to differ from him in opinion. He was no hypocrite. He stood where he stood in 1829, where he stood when he was an editor in New-York. He had not changed his ground. His principles were the same as in 1833. He was no traitor to them. He was where he had been when Mr. Garrison was with him side by side. He would say he was the first man in New England to publish the principles of Mr. Lloyd Garrison. He did not differ from Mr. Lloyd Garrison in regard to anti-slavery, but in regard to religious principles he did differ heaven wide.

He was ostracised by the denomination to which he belonged, refused admission to the pulpit by those who he believed were no better than himself either in property, reputation, or services, all because he was a friend of the slave, and yet here he was denounced as a traitor to the cause. He had only to remark that if he was an apostate now he was an apostate in 1834 and in 1839. He might differ in regard to woman's right to preside at or deliberate in public meetings, but he did not trample on their rights. He had been mobbed in the streets of New-York in 1834, and owed his safety to the kindness of a female friend. In Middletown, Ct. he had been attacked by a mob of southern students, and knocked down by a stone thrown at him, and now he found out that he was charged as being an apostate! He, in the presence of this society, would wipe the brand which they had affixed on him, off from his brow. He was no traitor; and to those who called him so he would say, "physician heal thyself."

Abby Kelley then stepped on to the platform, and was introduced by Garrison, but gave way for a few moments, while Garrison, amid much interruption, drew a parallel between the conduct of Benedict Arnold, and that of Mr. Dennison. Miss Kelly alluded, in terms of severe irony to the argument of Dennison and his associates, that it was owing to their respect for woman, that they would put a padlock on her lips in public. She reviewed the course of Garrison in terms of high eulogium, in speaking of those who had separated themselves from the old organization, and had formed a new one, under the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. She said that they had stolen their organ, the Emancipator, all the books and plates, and from $1,100 to $1,200 in funds, all of which rightfully belonged to the old organization. The leader in this movement was Mr. Dennison, whom, on that account, she denounced as a traitor. But for this movement, slavery, she said, would ere this be abolished. The crime of Mr. Dennison, was therefore, of an infamy much blacker than that of Benedict Arnold, as the anti-slavery cause is of more importance than was that of the revolutionary war.

Miss Kelley scorned the "respect" toward woman entertained by Mr. Dennison, and his friends, while they would take from her the right of speech, which she valued more than her personal liberty, and which she resolved to maintain to the last.

She spoke about thirty-five minutes, in her usual eloquent and able manner, and the reporter regrets that his limits (this speech comes last in the order of his reports) will not permit a more adequate sketch of her valuable remarks.

When Miss Kelley had concluded, there were calls for Phillips, but it being 2 o'clock, Mr. Phillips probably thought that the time was too far advanced for him then to address the meeting. He not heeding the call, Mr. Garrison announced two of the Hutchinson family, of the tribe of Jesse—and good abolitionists, and that they would favor the meeting with a song.

Jesse Hutchinson then rose, and instead of a song, commenced a speech, saying that he should be glad to welcome Mr. Dennison back among the abolitionists; but this sentiment creating some confusion between the parties present, (there being a considerable number of the friends of Mr. Dennison in the room,) he was interrupted by loud calls for the song, when he dropped his speech, and commenced with his brother, and the company joining, the song:

"Come join the abolitionists."

After the song, on motion of Edmund Quincy, the meeting adjourned.

Selections.

DR. Mc CURE SMITH.

The paper called the The Northern Star has recently passed into the editorial care of this intelligent and well-educated colored gentleman. Our readers have recently met him in controversy with Dr. Dewey, in which his candor, courtesy, and accurate information, shone so conspicously above his opponent.

The following manly and well-written salutory is from his pen:

OUR NEW VOLUME—As the "Northern Star" now appears in an enlarged form, and is issued from the metropolis, as well as from Albany, Schenectady, &c., we will venture a few remarks upon the occasion.

The Northern Star, during the last eighteen months, has been devoted to temperance, education, and moral reform, as means for the elevation of the people of color, and of the slaves.

We would now humbly, but firmly, assume still higher ground—we desire to become the exponent of the *condition* and *relations* of the free colored population, and the channel through which abler and wiser men may set forth the *duties* of the same people.

Our object in assuming this high attitude, is, to promote the cause of human freedom: for, it is true that the cause of human freedom, so far as the influence of the American example is concerned, now hinges upon the actual condition of the free colored people of the North. The argument stands thus: "Granted that it is wrong to hold men in bondage; granted that slavery is a great moral and political evil; yet if the slaves are set free, they will become just such a miserable race as the free blacks of the free States," This is the present stage of the argument. The whole endeavor of southern intellect is now earnestly devoted to make out their case from the actual condition in which we are. Philosophy, history, statistics, senatorial eloquence, and flights of imagination, have been brought to bear with wonderful unanimity upon this single point. If this can be shown to be an untenable point—if our whole condition can be made out as one of progressive improvement, then much will be done for the cause of freedom, and a strong weapon will be snatched from those who oppose liberty.

Our condition is an improved and improving one, the farther we recede in time from slavery. We must prove this to be the case, by an accumulation of evidence.

Next, as to our relations. We want right views of these, in order that we may do our duty—for duties spring from relations. There is something more in our relations, than oppressed and oppressor. We live in the midst of a great experiment. We are part of those who are to demonstrate the great proposition, whether a people contain within themselves the element of self-government. The American government is based upon the affirmative of the above proposition. The hitherto history of this republic, and the coming history of it, for a century or more, will be the elements of the demonstration. One thing is clear: had there been but one race, one complexion, one sect, one creed, the demonstration could not have been as complete and thorough as it will now be. All the antipathy of race—for there are all races here—all the bitterness of hostile creeds, every complexion of political faith, are here thrown together in one vast alembic—and time alone can pronounce the result of this terrible assay—of a government of the people. Nor would the experiment have been so complete, had these various parties an even start—had there been perfect equality in the beginning—for then, there would have been no *trial* of the working of the principles, no *cases* for the experiment. Had all been equal, human equality would not have been a question. And having been a question, tried, and decided upon, it would have lost its vitality as one of the elements of our political existence. Had there been no slavery in our republic, how different, at this moment, would be the public sentiment on the right of petition from what it now is! These great principles must be *tried* in our government; and in order that they shall be tried, Providence has made up the "chequered union" as it now exists. The burden, the proof of the experiment, rests upon our shoulders. Equality, rights, are to be *gained* by us. The flame of liberty must be kept constantly alive upon the national altar, and we are the elements selected by God to feed that flame. If need be that we must bring hard toil, crucified feelings, and crushed hearts, as meet offerings upon an altar so sacred, for the cause' sake; let us bring them with an intelligent view of our position, and of the high destiny we fulfill.

The worst trial for us is past; we have touched the lowest depth of our degradation, and our course is now upward. Let us keep this fact constantly in view. Let our tone change with our changed circumstances. Instead of feeble complaints at our oppression, degradation and wrongs, let us cheer each other in our toilsome, but onward path. We are no longer the most degraded portion of the community—our foes admit this.

There are certain leading doctrines, which we shall endeavor, through this paper, to inculcate. The first is, that our people should, under God, rely on themselves for their elevation. We have hitherto received aid from no one; our improvement thus far is our own labor; we are the best judges of what we should do, and we must rely upon ourselves. All that our friends can do is to afford us the opportunity. Secondly, we shall inculcate the necessity of sound learning. We must get learning at any price short of crime; learning is our only high road to freedom. As a means for this we shall advocate the establishment, in or near one of our large cities, of a high school, well founded and complete in its appointments. Further remarks are deferred till our next.

ANNIVERSARIES.

(*Concluded.*)

EXHIBITION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

Thursday afternoon in the Tabernacle. Present—the whole number of pupils, save one, 173. The girls dressed in white. The exercises interesting, and creditable, both to the teachers and to the taught.

AMERICAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Thursday evening in the Tabernacle. In the absence of the President, Chancellor Walworth, the Vice President, Rev. Professor Durbin, of Pennsylvania, took the chair. The Secretary, Rev. Dr. Marsh, read the report, which gave a very flattering account of the temperance movement throughout the country, and recommended legislative action to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, Deacon Grant, of Boston, and J. B. Gough. On the same evening, were also held the two following meetings—

AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

The twenty-eighth anniversary; Rev. Dr. Dale in the chair. The object of this society is to educate youth for the ministry, and is in the management of the friends of Yale College, and the Seminary at Andover, and other institutions of the same persuasion; 388 young men received assistance during the year, of which, 132 have been received during the same period. The whole number on the list from the commencement, is 3,532. Receipts for the year $34,886 95, being an increase over last year of $1,097 63. Expenditures $34,792 24. The debt during the year has been reduced from $34,005 99, to $27,998 55.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT SOCIETY MEETING.

Dr. De Witt, Vice President, in the chair. Receipts during the year, $6,502 55. Expenditures less by this sum $27, which is now in the treasury. It is the object of the society to employ tracts, which will be distributed among the Roman Catholics. During the past year, 160,000 pages of tracts had been issued, besides Bibles and other books. To Illinois alone, the society have sent 60,000 pages of tracts, and they have thirty or forty young men there employed in distribution. The society have twelve agents among the Indians, and they would have more but for the limitation of their means. Rev. Dr. Beecher offered the following resolution: Resolved—That the progress of Romanism in the western country demands the solemn attention of the Protestants. Another resolution was: Resolved—That the progress of Romanism in the United States is deserving the serious attention of all Protestants.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, met Friday morning at the Tabernacle. Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, President of the board, in the chair. Dr. Armstrong read a brief statement of the operations of the Board. There are under the board 25 missions, connected with which, there are 128 Missionaries, and 224 assistant missionaries, and 130 native helpers, and 492 laborers, besides some hundred native helpers, who derive no assistance from the Board. There are 62 mission churches, containing more than 25,000 members, exclusive of a large number of native converts in western Asia. There are connected with the missions, 7 seminaries, 23 boarding schools, and more than 600 free schools, containing in all, upwards of 32,000 pupils. The receipts for the last 9 months have been $163,680, and the appropriations $198,750. The appeal made a year ago to the public was successful, and $20,000 collected. This was not the annual meeting of the Board, which is held in September.—Allusion was made to the decline in attendance on these meetings, and the want of interest taken in them. It was suggested as a remedy that better speakers be engaged.

From the London Spectator, March 9.

SUGAR AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

The largest question mooted in parliament this week, is that of the sugar duties; and we learn two important facts from the discussion—that the continuance of the present system of duties is confessedly more uncertain than ever, and that there is to be a new African crusade. The debate was raised by Mr. Labouchere; who proposed an address, asking the queen to adopt measures for maintaining and improving our commercial relations with Brazil.

The party motion was rejected by a party-division, in which the opposition made a good show of strength. But the really interesting points of the debate were the incidental matters. The duration of the sugar duties, we have said, is more uncertain than ever; ministers do not say either that they will alter them, or that they will not alter them, but they will not insure their continuance for the next six months. Meanwhile, they apologize for them on the two well-known grounds, justice to the West Indies, and attachment to anti-slavery. Scarcity of labor having been artificially created in the West Indies by legislation, the legislature is bound not to thrust the West Indies into unprotected competition with countries which have not had their labor rendered scarce by legislative enactment. Moreover, ministers will not agree to accept any sugar from slave-owning countries, until those countries take measures, however gradual, for the abolition of slavery.

These are the old pleas for resisting immediate reduction of the sugar duties in 1841; but ministers have narrowed their ground. They now promulgate a definite plan of gradual emancipation, by which, negroes born after a certain age should be declared free; and it seems that if Brazil were to accept that proposition, the present sugar duties would at once be abandoned in favor of Brazil, and more favorable terms allowed. The tenure of the West Indies in their protection, therefore, depends upon the obstinacy of Brazil in clinging to unmodified slavery.

The other announcement was beside the immediate question—it was an act of supererogation. Sir Robert Peel, indeed, seems bent upon seducing from Lord Palmerston, and taking unto himself the anti-slavery society; and he is a very promising suitor. Sir Robert confesses that past efforts to suppress the slave-trade have been unavailing; but now he has a recipe that must succeed—Captain Denman says so. Captain Denman is the propounder of this project, and therefore the astute Sir Robert Peel accepts his authority without demur! It was confidently asserted, that to intercept the voyage of slavers, would arrest the slave-trade; it aggravated the horrors of the middle passage. It was confidently asserted, that the Niger expedition would crush the slave-trade at its root; the expedition was with difficulty rescued from utter destruction, leaving slavery where it was. It was confidently asserted, that the new project must succeed; would it be presumptuous to state the result even now by anticipation?

The project is this—to withdraw from cruising on the western shores of the Atlantic, and to establish an uninterrupted blockade of the African coast for a vast extent! Is it, however, to be only a "paper blockade," or is it to be effectual? If effectual, how many ships are we to employ, in order to prevent slavers from running between the blockading vessels? or are the ships really to keep close in the mouths of the rivers—those fatal spots? Is war to be declared with Africa, and on what pretext? In what terms is the blockade to be gazetted? What rules are foreign vessels to observe? How many broils are we to get into with French or American ships, suspected to be slavers, violating the blockade, and "searched" or "visited?" What good will blockade do to the internal condition of Africa? How are these, and twenty other questions to be answered? The only thing certain is, that a large increase is likely to be made in the number of British men and officers sent to die of disease on the coast of Africa.

TYLER AND TEXAS.

Army and Navy Orders, communicated upon the call of the Senate, and published by their removal of the injunction of secrecy.

[Confidential.]

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 27, 1844.

Sir: On your arrival at Nachitoches you will consider yourself not merely as the immediate commander of the 1st military department, but also as the commander of a *corps of observation*, to be reinforced by orders from this place if deemed necessary.

In the first instance, that corps will consist of the seven companies of the 2d dragoons long in garrison at Fort Jesup, together with eight companies of the 3d infantry and eight of the 4th recently ordered thither.

With a view to the convenience of the receipt of supplies by water, the 4th infantry (and the 3d also, at your discretion) may, for the present, be held encamped near Nachitoches. It is supposed that a healthy position may be found in the pine woods in the neighborhood of that city; if not, health being of the higher importance, both regiments of foot may be encamped on the ridge near Fort Jesup.

Your headquarters may be established at either place, or you will shift from one to the other as may be found necessary.

The three corps will be held in readiness for service at any moment.

Cavalry, arms, and horse equipments, have been ordered from Baton Rougue for the seven companies of dragoons. Measures will also be taken to cause them to be remounted as soon as an appropriation shall be made for that object. In the mean time, they will be rendered effective on foot.

You will continue to receive instructions direct from this place. Your ordinary military communications will be made as indicated in the third paragraph of the orders of the war department, and dated the 16th instant; but in other matters confided to your judgment and discretion, (and the confidence is great,) your correspondence will be direct to the adjutant-general, for the information of the general-in-chief and the higher authorities.

You will take prompt measures, in the first instance by a confidential officer, and subsequently by the ordinary mail or special express, as you may deem necessary, to put yourself in communication with the President of Texas, in order to inform him of your present position and force, and to learn and to transmit to this office (all confidentially) whether any and what external dangers may threaten that government or its people. Should such danger be found to exist, and appear to be imminent, you will collect and march the forces above indicated to the Sabine river, but not proceed beyond the frontier without further instructions, keeping in readiness, in the case supposed, all necessary means of transportation, as well as ample stores of subsistence and ammunition.

By these instructions it is not meant to impress upon your mind the belief that the government apprehend hostility with any foreign power. They are given to you for the purpose of enjoining circumspection and attention to the condition of your force. I repeat the injunction of confidence, and the full reliance reposed in your judgment and prudence by the government.

I write under the instructions of the war department, in consultation with the general-in-chief.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
R. JONES, Adjutant General.

Brevet Brig. Gen. Z. TAYLOR,
Commanding 1st Mil. Dep. Fort Jesup, La.

[Confidential.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT, April 15, 1844.

Sir: A treaty of annexation has been negotiated between the United States and the republic of Texas, and will be immediately submitted to the Senate of the United States, now in session, for its advice and consent.

During the interval which will necessarily occur before the treaty is ratified or rejected, it is the part of prudence to guard against any aggressions on our commerce or the rights of our citizens, which may be attempted by any foreign government, or by persons claiming to act under its authority. You will therefore concentrate the vessels under your command. The Vandalia, commanded by Commander Chauncey, and the Falmouth, commanded by Commander Sands, will without delay be ordered to join you, touching at Pensacola, and you will leave at that place the necessary orders. They will sail from Norfolk so soon as some small repairs can be made.

You will, in your discretion, employ the vessels composing your squadron in cruising in the Gulf of Mexico, so as to communicate frequently with Galveston; and occasionally show yourself at or before Vera Cruz, with such deviation to other parts of your cruising grounds as in your judgment may be best calculated to effect the objects of your general and special instructions.

You will be cautious in committing no violation of the rights of others, but resist and punish aggression on ours. If, while the question of annexation is pending, an armed force shall threaten an invasion of Texas, you will remonstrate with the commanding officer, and you will accompany your remonstrance with the assurance that the President of the United States will regard the execution of such a hostile purpose towards Texas, under such circumstances, as evincing a most unfriendly spirit towards the United States; and which, in the event of the treaty's ratification, must lead to actual hostilities with this country.

If you observe any preparations for such an invasion, you will without delay communicate the information to this department, that the President may submit the same to Congress.

You will communicate, as often as occasion may present itself, with the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Texas, and make your despatches to the department as frequent as opportunities may offer.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN Y. MASON.

Commodore DAVID CONNER,
Commanding Home Squadron, Pensacola.

NAVY DEPARTMENT May, 10, 1844.

SIR: The President of the United States *having determined to send no minister at present to Mexico*, you will consider the order addressed to you on the 4th instant, to proceed to New Orleans, as revoked.

On your arrival at Pensacola, you will carry out the instructions previously addressed to you.

I am respectfully, yours,
J. Y. MASON.

Lieutenant H. H. BELL,
Commanding U. S. Steamer Union, Baltimore.

From the Tribune.

"TYLER AND TEXAS"—THE DESIGN—THE PERIL—WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

When I communicated to you some weeks ago the fact that that "shocking accident," John Tyler, had made arrangements to commence a war without consulting those bodies, or either of them, in which the Constitution has vested the war-making power, I had no doubt of the accuracy of the information; but it was so incredible in itself that I was not surprised to see that it was very little heeded by the country. It is now officially confirmed. The audacity, perfidy and recklessness, which were deemed too enormous to be believed, are avowed by the traitor and his co-conspirators.

The design of these diabolical proceedings is *deep*. It is to provoke Mexico to an immediate Declaration of War.

The idea prevails in the executive circle, and it is an old and familiar one with Tyler, *Wise*, and their coadjutors, that it is in the power of "a resolut

minority," at any time to involve this country in a war, and that when this is effected, the whole country *must come to the rescue*, and sustain at all hazards and at every cost the party who brought it about. This is a beautiful theory of political ethics—as beautiful as that domestic system out of which most of our national corruption and calamities have grown. In the House of Representatives, in 1842, Wise, referring to this very subject of *Annexation*, said, in addition to the above, that if war were once begun, the politicians would not dare to oppose it. "They are burnt children," said he; "they never will venture to oppose another war; if they do they are doomed men."

I think that it is substantially upon these suggestions that John Tyler is now acting! I think so, for this among other reasons: In the same speech, Wise maintained that we had a right to demand of Mexico "the non-invasion of Texas." This idea was adopted in the President's message at the opening of the present Congress, and is repeated several times in the correspondence accompanying the Texas treaty. It is well known, also, that Wise led off in the defection from the whigs in 1841; and it has always been supposed by well-informed men, that Tyler, in perpetrating his treachery to his friends, and in carrying on his vile schemes since, has acted more under the guidance of Wise than of any other man. At Washington this is well known. In 1842, Mr. Gentry, of Tennessee, designated Mr. Wise as "the government." Depend upon it, it is more by the inspiration of his bold and licentious genius, than from any capacity or will of his own, that Tyler has adventured upon the astonishing course which he is now pursuing.

The object of the war, Wise did not even then conceal, appealing to the democratic party (particularly of New Hampshire and Maine) to sustain it. He said, "I would place California where all the power of Great Britain should never reach it. *Slavery should pour itself abroad without restraint, and find no limit but the Southern Ocean.*"

It may be imagined by some, that the fact of Mr. Wise's appointment to Brazil is incompatible with this idea of his importance in the counsels of President. But in reply to this I would say, in the first place, that he has *not yet gone*, though he has had his appointment confirmed about four months! In the second place, he is reputed to be very desirous of building a house. It is not at all improbable, notwithstanding the great confidence he has expressed in the valor and success of his friends in "sacking towns and robbing churches," he may still think that quarterly drafts on Uncle Sam are rather more prudent and reliable than a contingent interest in the wealth to be acquired in Mexico, and the *power* to be acquired at home, by "the booted loafers."*

The state of things which Tyler's recklessness, impudence, and imagined irresponsibility, have brought about, is new in the history of the republic. Shall he succeed in his purpose? Shall he be permitted to break, or longer to jeopard for a single moment, the peace and faith of this nation? What can be done to arrest him in his wild and wicked career? Something must be done, and that promptly. An impeachment would reach and paralyze him. This seems to me the proper and the only *preventive* remedy in the case. Should deaths from violence, or capture of property ensue, in consequence of his exercise of a usurped authority, and of his unconstitutional and illegal orders, he will be liable perhaps for murder and piracy before the ordinary tribunals, as will also the officers and troops pretending to act under those orders. At any rate, they will all be liable under the statute of the United States providing the penalties of fine and imprisonment for "*all* persons beginning or setting on foot any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from the United States, against the territory or domains of any foreign State, colony, district or people *with whom the United States are at peace.*" This net is large enough to embrace John Tyler and all his tools, if so be the *meshes* are *small* enough. AMICUS.

*See Wise's speech, and the admirable speech of Mr. Adams, in reply.

Communications.

TALES OF OPPRESSION.

BY ISAAC T. HOPPER.

No. LXXIX.

William Dixon.

William Dixon was arrested on the 4th of 4th month, 1837, by virtue of a writ of habeas corpus, founded on the oath of Doctor Walter P. Allender, of the city of Baltimore, that he was his slave, and had absconded from his service, in April, 1832. He was taken before the Recorder, Richard Riker. —— Phenix and John A. Morrill, attended as counsel for the claimant, and Horace Dresser on behalf of Dixon.

Dixon denied being the slave of Doctor Allender, or that he had ever resided in Baltimore. The case was adjourned, in order to give the parties an opportunity to procure testimony, and Dixon was committed. The case produced tremendous excitement, and occupied the attention of the Recorder, at intervals, during three or four months. Many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of persons of all colors, crowded round the court-house, and filled it to overflowing.

When the case was again called on, it was clearly proved that Dixon was in New-York some years previous to the time of his alledged elopement. The investigation had proceeded but a little way, before I became convinced that the doctor could not succeed in establishing his claim. Seeing the great excitement which prevailed, and feeling some sympathy for the doctor, I proposed to him to abandon the case; telling him that if he pursued it, he would involve himself in heavy expenses, and be disappointed at last. He treated me respectfully, but declined taking my advice.

Doctor Allender brought on from Baltimore several persons as witnesses. Thomas J. Messach, a merchant of Baltimore, was sworn for the claimant. He testified that his brother-in-law, claimant's father, had a slave named Jacob Ellis. The prisoner was the man, beyond all doubt. He would risk his life on the identity. He was in the habit of seeing him almost every day. He knew him for twelve years. The prisoner drove him to the claimant's wedding, in November, 1830. He was missing in warm weather. He thought it was in the summer of 1831. He had not seen the prisoner since he was missed, till he took his seat in the court. The claimant's father had sold a servant, two or three weeks before prisoner eloped."

The Recorder here asked Mr. Demerest of Boston, (who had, on a previous examination, sworn to having known the prisoner, in Boston, in 1828,) whether he could not be mistaken in the prisoner. He answered that he could not.

Walter Price, of Baltimore, deposed that he knew the family of Dr. Allender, sen., many years. He married one of his daughters, in 1834. The prisoner was the property of claimant's father. He was certain of it. He could not be mistaken. He had not seen the prisoner till to-day, since he eloped. He ran away in 1831. He could not state the month, but it was before October. The prisoner was the property of Dr. Allender, sen. when he eloped. Dr. Allender, sen'r. died in 1834, leaving the prisoner to his widow, who gave up her right and title to the claimant."

It would be tedious and uninteresting to detail all the testimony given on behalf of the claimant. There were not less than fifteen or twenty witnesses, who testified as positively as those above named. Several of them were persons of unquestioned veracity, and doubtless fully believed what they said.

There was a profligate fellow of this city, who said he had resided in Baltimore, and knew the prisoner. He offered himself as a witness; but just before he was examined, I made my appearance in court. Upon seeing me, he exclaimed, "I won't be examined in this case. Yonder is old Hopper. He will impeach my character." I had previously come in contact with this man, in a case not very honorable to him, and he was unwilling to encounter me again.

In a private conversation with the Recorder, in his office, in the presence of the counsel for the claimant, I suggested that the rule of evidence in criminal cases should be observed in this; that the matter at issue was as important to Dixon, as if he was on trial for his life; and if any doubt existed, the prisoner ought to have the benefit of it. The Recorder said he would hear an argument on that point. The claimant's counsel threw much ridicule on the suggestion. But, at the opening of the court, the next morning, the Recorder observed "that he had considered the suggestion offered the previous day, and he should certainly be governed in this case by the criminal law of evidence. In a case involving the liberty of a person, he held the criminal law of evidence must govern. The superior weight of evidence must of course, carry the case; but if there was a reasonable doubt as to the identity of the prisoner, that doubt was certainly the prisoner's property, and should be raised in his favor."

Testimony on behalf of Dixon. Arthur Jones, black, sworn.—"Lives No. 154 1-2 Ann street, Boston; has lived there twenty-one years. Knows Dixon; first saw him in Boston, twelve years since. He went by the name of William Dixon. (Jones produced several testimonials of character from Boston.) The prisoner lived with him, and he shipped him about eleven years since. Dixon was in Boston a year before he boarded with witness. He sailed in a brig to some port in Europe; does not remember which. Dixon had no wife then. He was with witness eleven days. Witness was on the wharf when Dixon came home to Boston, in the brig Oak, belonging to Tobias Lord; and he took him home to board with him. Before that, he had seen prisoner at Mrs. Brown's, in Brighton street, near Charlestown bridge. After shipping Dixon, he did not see him again till now, in this city." Here counsel for Dixon produced the certificate of Mr. Henshaw, collector of the port of Boston, that William Dixon shipped from that port in May, 1827. Witness was not sent for, from this city, that he knows of. He read in the papers about Dixon's trouble here, and came on voluntarily, at his own expense. He called on Mr. Dresser, and went with him to the prison, and saw Dixon. He has not the least doubt of Dixon's identity. Dixon recognized witness when he first saw him, in prison, before witness spoke. This was not three minutes after he made known his errand to Mr. Dresser. Dixon owed witness, and it was to get his money that he came to this city, if the prisoner was the same. The vessel that Dixon shipped in, at Boston, was cast away. The name of the brig was the John Gilpin; it was her first voyage.

The recorder then proposed to have a separate private examination of Jones and Dixon, as to the circumstances, and the persons, their appearances, ages, &c. mentioned by Jones, to test the correctness of the identity of the prisoner. Dixon expressed his willingness to take such a course; but Mr. Morrill, counsel for the claimant, solemnly protested against it. The Recorder entered his protest, and expressed his conviction of his perfect right to go into such an examination, and his determination to prosecute it.

Jones to the Recorder: "The John Gilpin was a bright sided brig, without painted ports. She was about the size of the brig Delta, which was about 180 tons. The John Gilpin was owned by Mr. Curtis, and his partner.

Richard Livingston, a servant in the family of Mr. Hicks, a respectable Quaker gentleman up town, deposed that he was positively well acquainted with the prisoner, in this city, in 1831—that during the absence of Mr. Hicks, at a quarterly meeting in Philadelphia, in 1828, he employed the prisoner to whitewash two rooms in his master's house, and had been in the habit of seeing him since.

—— Demarest deposed that he knew the prisoner, in Boston, in 1828.

Many other witnesses, both white and colored, were examined, who all testified that they had known Dixon both in this city and Boston, long before the time of the elopement alledged by Dr. Allender.

There was another colored man in the city who so strongly resembled Dixon that few could tell them apart. If the case had not dropped as it did, he might have been smuggled into the prisoner's place, and produced fine confusion among the witnesses.

The Recorder stated that in the power of attorney, in which the prisoner was claimed, his elopement was stated to have been in April, 1832, whereas it was proved beyond doubt, that the prisoner was here in 1831.

Some of the Baltimore papers came out most violently against the proceedings in this case. This brought forth the following pertinent remarks in one of our daily papers:

The Pending Slave Case.—We regret that the Baltimore Chronicle should have perpetrated so unjust and inflammatory an article in relation to the slave case, now at issue before the recorder, as appeared in its columns on Tuesday. The information upon which it hurls its threats northwardly, we assure it, is wholly incorrect It is *not* true that Dr. Allender is charged, or suspected, even by the most devoted abolitionists amongst us, of an attempt to *kidnap* the man he claims: nor that there are any "barefaced and horrible prejudices" by which the claim of Dr. A. is sought to be defeated. If the sorrow expressed by the Chronicle, at its discovery of too much credulity in ministers of the law in the eastern section of the country, "to the fabrications of unscrupulous and conscienceless negroes," has been excited by the adjudication of the case in point, it has made a lamentable waste of sympathetic grief. We can assure our sorrowing correspondent that the strongest testimony as yet elicited in behalf of the alledged slave, has been uttered by *white* citizens—citizens of as pure and honorable a character as that of the much lauded claimant can possibly be. The Chronicle need feel under no apprehensions that Baltimore will be called upon to revenge herself upon this city for "any harsh measures adopted toward the doctor." His rights and safety will be as faithfully guarded both by the legal authorities and citizens of New-York, as will be those of the man he claims—*but not more so*, though the latter may be black. Whether, as the Chronicle avers, "there cannot be the slightest doubt" in the case, will be better known when the oaths of respectable white citizens to their acquaintance with William Dixon years before Jacob Ellis is said to have eloped from Dr. A. are proved to be forgeries. In conclusion, we advise the Chronicle to "keep cool," and not lose its temper, and not again burst forth in braggadocio, before it knows what it is talking about.

This case, as has been already mentioned, was continued before the Recorder several months; and as it was impossible to conjecture when it would be terminated, unless it should be removed to another tribunal, it was concluded to take it to the Court of Errors. A law had been enacted some years before, giving persons who might be claimed as fugitives the right of a trial by jury. This law had been adjudged by the Supreme Court unconstitutional; and this was thought to be a proper case to carry up to the Court of Errors, that their decision might be had upon it. To accomplish this object, H. Dresser, counsel for Dixon, drew up a protest against the Recorder's proceeding any further therein. Bail was given to the sheriff, and a writ of homine replegiando, issued out of the Supreme Court, was served upon the keeper of the prison, and Dixon was set at liberty.—Arrangements were made, and the case was taken to the highest tribunal in the State. After Dixon had been at liberty some months, the counsel for the claimant taking no measures to bring the case to a final issue, Dixon was returned to prison. Doctor Allender had been obliged to pay two dollars a week for Dixon's support, while a jail, and finding it rather onerous, declined to contribute. The sheriff was not disposed to maintain him at his own expense, and he was discharged. He has been ever since pursuing his business without molestation. The case was never brought to an issue, and is never likely to be.

During the examination of the case, there was much confusion. On one occasion, after the court adjourned, as the officers were taking Dixon to the prison, a crowd surrounded them, and rescued him. J. M. B. a police justice, hearing the tumult, ran out of his office toward the scene of action. He had gone but few steps, when a fat colored woman came behind him, threw her arms round his neck, and amid shouts of laughter from the bystanders, brought him flat to the ground. Dixon, however, was recaptured, and conducted to Bridewell. When taken, he had a dirk and knife in his possession.

Before the examination was commenced, the next morning, the Recorder said, in reference to the rescue, that he was fully convinced that the escape of the prisoner was altogether the work of violence on the part of the mob, who compelled him to fly, and forced upon him the weapons found upon his person. The Recorder fully exonorated him from any blame on account of that transaction. H. Dresser, counsel for the defense, stated that it was reprehended and regretted by the respectable portion of the colored people, and by their abolition friends.

A day or two after this occurred, I went to the police office, and inquired if J. M. B. was there. The man whom I addressed replied, "My name is J. M. B." "I was acquainted with a friend in Philadelphia," said I, "who often used to say, 'if thou knowest any good of a man, tell it to others; if thou knowest any evil of him, tell it to himself.' In conformity with this rule, I have come to mention something I have heard about thee, if thou art willing to hear it." He replied that he was willing to hear anything I had to say. I then told him I understood he had expressed regret that he had not his pistols about him, when treated roughly in the Park, a day or so ago; for if he had, he would have blown out the brains of some of his assailants. He answered, "I did say so; and I would have done it." "I am sorry to hear it," I replied. "Permit me to say that I think the city of New-York is disgraced in having a man on the justices' bench, thirsting for the blood of his fellow-men." He said, "I am not thirsting for the blood of my fellowmen." I told him his expressions seemed to convey such an idea, and recommended him to cultivate a more Christian spirit. I observed that the colored people saw such a savage disposition exhibited towards them by the police, that it was no wonder they should attempt to retaliate in the same spirit; that if the police had conducted with the dignity and propriety becoming the station they occupied, those riots would seldom, if ever, occur.

The Recorder has long since been called to render his final account at that bar where he has certainly received the reward of his works. It may not be amiss to say, that if he had been as prompt to render justice to those accused of being fugitive slaves, as he was to deliver them to the oppressor, this case would not have occupied him as long as it did.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1844

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

VALEDICTORY.

With this number will terminate my editorial connection with the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. The readers of the paper are aware that considerable difference of opinion has existed among the various members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as to the best means of promoting the great object, which they all have at heart, and especially as to the manner in which this paper should be conducted. For two years and upwards, the opinion has been frequently, though not to much extent, publicly expressed by active and influential abolitionists, that the Standard was doing to our cause more harm than good. Aware of this fact, when I was invited by the executive committee of 1842, to assume the editorship, I replied that I would do so, if, upon consultation with the members and friends of the society, there should appear to be a general concurrence in the opinion and wishes of the committee. I was officially informed that such consultation had been had, and that the result was a general, and ready concurrence with the committee. Still, as the annual meeting was at hand, and a new executive committee about to be chosen, I preferred that the matter should remain open for their final determination.

At the annual meeting in 1843, a resolution was passed, declaring the conduct of abolitionists, who remain in any of the sects, or parties of the country, inconsistent with anti-slavery principle, and recommending that they "*come out*," and take a pledge to stand aloof from them.

This resolution I regarded as unconstitutional, and unjust—as an infringement upon that freedom, for whose sake we had associated, and were laboring—as eminently sectarian, intolerant, and presumptuous—in a word, as a repetition of the attempt at spiritual domination, which had been made in the society in 1838–9, and had resulted in an irreconcilable breach. I was informed that this resolution was passed in compliance with the wishes of Abby Kelley, and to aid her operations in Western New-York—she, and S. S. Foster, having discovered that the most effective way of opposing, and *exposing* "the third party," in that quarter, was by applying to them the touchstone of the tee-total anti-slavery pledge. I believed this to be a true representation; and inasmuch as the vote had been small, and the resolution expressed in a guarded manner, (it being provided that non-conformity should not affect the rights of membership,) I did not consider it as constituting an insuperable obstacle to my acceptance of the office of editor. I determined, however, to have a complete eclaircissement with the new executive committee. I received a communication from them, inviting me anew to edit the Standard. In that communication, I found the following passage:

"The society declared its conviction, that all sects and parties in the United States are corrupted by slavery; and pronounced the conduct of those who remain in connection with them, inconsistent with the requisitions of anti-slavery principle, though not incompatible with membership in the anti-slavery society. As all sects and parties were alike condemned, it consequently followed that no portion of the society's means was to be used in controversy respecting the comparative merits of any. We ought, in the plainness of friendship, to state here, that your letters from Washington were, on this account, disapproved, even by those members of the American Society who are whigs in principle; and that the most inflexible determination was universally expressed, never to permit the Standard to be managed or modified in the slightest degree in such a way as to give pleasure either to whig, democrat, or liberty party leaders; to seceders from the American Society, or to half-way abolitionists. Especially from our official paper must all effort be banished to make out a good case for either political party. Justice to the slave requires the condemnation of both; and the columns of the Standard are too precious to be given to the trifling task of demonstrating a grain of wheat in two bushels of chaff. The society opposes the third political party as decidedly as either of the others, though for different reasons; believing it, under any circumstances, a blunder; and while it retains James G. Birney as its presidential candidate, the Emancipator as its organ, and continues to be governed by the motives in which it originated, a crime. At the same time, the society gives credit for purity of purpose, to vast numbers who ignorantly espouse it."

My reply was as follows:

"I am willing to devote such powers as I possess, to the advancement at that post, [the office of Editor,] of a cause on which, in my opinion, hangs the destiny not only of the American colored man, but also of this whole country. But I must declare that I cannot occupy that post unless I am left in full freedom to speak on all subjects connected with the anti-slavery enterprise, as my judgement and conscience dictate. On any other terms I should be neither contented nor useful. I think, moreover, that it would be extremely unwise, to say no worse, for the anti-slavery fraternity, to appoint any person to an official station in whose fidelity, intelligence, and discretion, they have not such confidence that they can cheerfully accord to him this liberty. The manner in which the Standard has been conducted during the two last years, has, with a single exception, had my hearty approbation. Had I been the responsible editor, I should, on some occasions, have admitted more controversial matter. I can perceive nothing else that I should desire to alter, or see altered, if I were to remain a simple subscriber.

"In respect to political parties, I agree in the main with the views expressed by the executive committee; but that there may be no misunderstanding, I will state some points on which it is possible that we may differ. Both the political parties are bad, but both have done in the free States, acts, which have deserved the commendation of abolitionists, and afforded the most substantial and cheering evidence of the success of our efforts. Whatever either may do in any State, or in Congress, favorable and friendly to our cause, ought to be cordially and impartially acknowledged and welcomed. It is a fact, however, that the whigs have made nearer approaches to our standard of political action than their opponents. This fact it would be doing injustice to the men and to the cause, to deny. There is neither honesty nor policy, in confounding half friends with entire enemies. This half state, be it remembered, is one through which all the abolition converts whom we hope to gain, must pass, and through which we ourselves have passed. It is the transition state; something as positive as either of the fixed, and quite as interesting to our cause. I know that it suits the purposes of "third party" to represent both the great political parties as in *pari delicto*. It is a favorite tenet of the faction. It is an instrument to whip into their ranks honest, but ignorant whig abolitionists.—It is one, and perhaps the most effective, of the many party tricks to which they resort in the very worst spirit of the parties which they affect to arraign."

"The executive committee inform me that the "letters from Washington have been disapproved." This is the first intimation I have had of the fact, except from adherents of the faction above named. I will not undertake to say, without going over those letters, for which I have not now time, that I may not have used expressions betraying an undue leaning in favor of the whigs; but this I may say, that I believe the principal and most offensive portion of the correspondence, as it related to the political parties, consisted in giving a simple analysis of their votes. During two months and a half I was a witness of the uniform servility of the northern section of one of those parties, and of the independence of the other, on every question touching slavery. Should I have done right to conceal this fact, and denounce both parties as *equally* recreant to their duty to the enslaved, and to the freemen who sent them? The Emancipator could do that in better style than I am capable of, and ought, if this office were demanded, to have received your patronage. I have not spared Henry Clay, nor any slave politician of his party. On the other hand, whenever a Northern democrat gave a righteous vote, I took special pains to report his name more conspicuously than that of any member of the opposite, because I thought it more meritorious to go against a party in favor of the slave, than to go with it to the same end. These were the general views with which I acted, and I find nothing in them, which I can conscientiously say that I wish to alter. If at any time an expression escaped me inconsistent with them, I should regret and condemn it as much as an anti-slavery friend, or third party opponent can; but unless such expression were specified, or I had time carefully to review all that I wrote I could make no modifications therein.

"I have for several years voted for a thorough loco candidate, in this county, whom I knew, also, to be a thorough abolitionist, in preference to his whig adversary; and this in reference to a principle unalterably fixed in my mind: and I have, during the same years, abstained from voting or given scattering votes, if I could find no candidate of either party whom I knew to be a decided abolitionist. On this principle I have never voted for John Davis, and I have been held up to the derision of my neighbors, by a democratic newspaper, for having voted for C. L. Remond, "a colored man," for lieutenant governor! Nevertheless, I have not, and do not think I ever shall, "come out" of the political party which I deem the least exceptionable. If that party at any time nominates an abolitionist for office, I vote for him in preference to any other, and if I think I can influence that party to propose such candidates, I do not feel that I violate any anti-slavery obligation by communicating and meeting with them. Every man who has earned the confidence of his associates by a long acquaintance and good conduct, will have a weight with them that he cannot have with new comrades, nor new comrades with him. The sphere of a man's old and familiar associations, is the natural, and ordinarily the most useful theatre of action for him in every laudable work. He, therefore makes a considerable sacrifice of his means of doing good, when he abandons it. There may be cases, I believe, when as much or more good may be done by renouncing both sect and party, and bearing a testimony against their errors, and misdeeds. These cases, I have always thought, and do still think, ought to be left to individual judgment and volition. The salutary effect which they may have when they thus arise, would be neutralized, if they could be supposed to be the result of dictation from abroad. I may approve in an individual what I would resist as a test. This, I think, is the necessary result of the broad principle of our association, that it should be sufficiently comprehensive to embrace without distinction of color, sect, sex, or party, all men who agree in the great object of abolishing slavery. If we require, as a qualification for fraternizing with us, an abandonment of parties or sects, we abolish a fundamental principle, and sweep from our platform that which distinguishes it from the *new*, and the ecclesiastical organizations.

"With these opinions, I could not undertake to advocate the renunciation of parties and sects, as an anti-slavery duty."

To this I received an answer, informing me that the committee were pleased with the reply, and desired me to assume the duties of editor.

At the decennial meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held at Philadelphia, December 4th, 1843, the executive committee were charged with treachery to their constituents, in appointing an editor who did not, and who had avowed that he would not, carry out the recommendation of the society. In order that I might feel perfectly free to speak and act on this question, which I deemed vital to the society, and that the society itself, which could not constitutionally remove me, except through the executive committee, might be unembarrassed in its action, I immediately resigned. And to remove any possible constraint which might be felt from an apprehension of difficulty and delay, in providing a successor, I declared my readiness to continue, if desired, to discharge the duties of editor, for a few weeks, until a successor could be appointed. The society now entered into a full and deliberate consideration of the manner in which the Standard had been conducted, and of that in which the come-out-ers, particularly S. S. Foster, and Abby Kelley, (who had pledged themselves to "the liberty party" to demand the removal of the editor,) required that it should be conducted. The following is an extract from a summary of the debate, published soon after the meeting:

"It was alledged that the executive committee, and editor, were pursuing the same course as the old executive committee, and editor, when they were forming 'the new organization,' and a political party. The editor vindicated his course. In the first place, he never believed that the declaration of the last annual meeting, in favor of come-out-ism, was the deliberate sense of the society. He had heard some facts, which satisfied him it was not; that this point, however, though in his estimation very important to the usefulness, and the very existence of this society, was of no importance to him, because he had declared in the outset, that he would not take the editorship with the condition of sustaining the doctrine of total separation from sects and parties. The community, in respect to our cause, are divided into three classes—the two extremes, which are the abolitionists on one side, and the slaveholders and the pro-slavery on the other; and those who are neither anti-slavery nor pro-slavery, but partly one, and partly the other. These are in the process of conversion—a state of transition. If abolition is ever to succeed, this class must always be a large, and increasing one. They bear an important relation to both the others, analagous to that of the middle term in the rule of three. It had been his aim, and the aim of his predecessor, to issue a paper which, without compromising, in the slightest degree, any anti-slavery principle, or concealing, or frittering away any anti-slavery truth, should still, by the variety of its topics, and the moderation of its tone, reach, and take hold of the middle class, and through that, the completely pro-slavery, and the slaveholders. It was for the society now to decide whether they could approve and would sustain such a paper—a paper using soft words and hard arguments. There were other, and enough anti-slavery papers of an ultra character, but these are adapted, and nearly confined to those who are converted, who have the leaven in them, and are fermenting, perhaps to overflowing. This aim of the former editor, had given dissatisfaction to some, and had caused her to be much harrassed and perplexed by their interference, and their reproaches, though he had no doubt that an overwhelming majority heartily approved. Approbation was silent and quiet, while discontent and hostility were outspoken and active. In order to avoid all misunderstanding, he had declared, when offered the post of editor, that he approved heartily of the general manner in which the paper had been conducted, and he specified the only variation which he should think of making. That variation he had made, according to his best judgment, and in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, the perfect and entire freedom of both which he had stipulated for before he accepted the office. It was only of such a paper, and on such principles, that he would consent to hold the editorship."

In regard to come-out-ism,

"It was proposed to reiterate the declaration of the last annual meeting, 'that a total separation from pro-slavery parties and sects is essential to the speedy triumph of our cause.'

"It was urged in favor of this resolution, that to retain any connection with sects or parties, who gave any support or countenance to slavery, was to be partakers of their iniquity; it was to be aiding and abetting in the enslavement of our fellow-men—in scourging, killing, tearing asunder, and selling the sons of God, our brethren. The ground was assumed that sects or parties that were not anti-slavery, were necessarily pro-slavery; that all who remained in connection with them, giving them any support whatever, were so likewise; and that he who thus trampled on human rights, in any degree, or for a moment, was 'a rascal and a villain.' The precedent established at the last annual meeting was insisted on, as having settled the principle, and determined, in this behalf, the action of the society: that its editor and agents were bound to carry out the instruction, and that by neglecting or refusing so to do, they betrayed their trust.

"In reply, it was said that this society had established, by its constitution, but one test, which was, that its members should not be *slaveholders;* that to introduce any other, was to narrow the platform, the establishment of which we were assembled to celebrate; that it was always best to have as little government, and as much individual freedom, as possible; that it was an attempt to impose new and unconstitutional tests, that had split us once already, the schismatics, afterwards called 'new organization,' having demanded of Garrison and others that they should 'come out' of the women's rights, and the non-resistance cause, or *go out* of this society; that when the power of our organization was sought to be applied to the coercion of those members, the organization broke and separated into old and new; that like results would in all probability now follow a like attempt to lord it over conscience; that it was no new thing for those who had been *persecuted*, to become *persecutors;* and that in view of all the experience of our race, we ought to be on our guard against falling into errors to which mankind had proved themselves so prone.

"It was said, also, that there were many things which individuals might do, and would be bound to do, and which, nevertheless, it would be presumption and usurpation for this society to prescribe; that to let come-out-ism alone, in our associated capacity, was no more to condemn it, than for the old executive committee and their friends to have let non-resistance alone, would have been to sanction it; that there were undoubtedly cases in which abolitionists felt it their duty to come out of parties, sects, and associations of every sort, which forebore to condemn slavery, and to labor for its overthrow; but that others might with equal conscientiousness remain within political, ecclesiastical, and other associations, as the most effectual means of reforming them, being persuaded that they can labor to the best advantage where they are best known, and fight better hand to hand, than afar off. It was furthermore contended that this *requiring* a total separation from sects and parties was itself in the real spirit of sectarianism, and was intimately connected with a habit and manner of *indiscriminate denunciation*, which was founded in falsehood, and involved great and very irritating injustice; that this denunciation was applied to bodies of men, as to individuals, whom we regarded as in any degree pro-slavery, or as not altogether what we thought they ought to be, in respect to the sin of slavery; that to call individuals or associations in whom there is a mixture of right and wrong principles and practices in this respect, *pro-slavery*, is no more true or just, than it would be to call them *anti-slavery;* that by the doctrine advanced on the part of those who advocated this resolution, the British abolitionists, who consented to the apprenticeship system, undoubtedly with the most humane intentions, did trample on human rights, not 'for a moment,' but for ten years, and therefore are *a fortiori* 'rascals and villains;' that it might be asked, in this connection, what *we* were, before we became abolitionists, and what come-out-ers were before they thought of cutting their pro-slavery connections, and demanding that all abolitionists should do the like, under the penalty of forfeiting their abolition character.

"Finally, it was insisted that if the society sanctioned the doctrine of this resolution, they are bound to go further, and include every association, connection, act, and thing, which directly or indirectly lends any support or countenance to slavery; and to include that the most furously, which most strengthened and sustained slavery. The ties of party and sect influence men far less than those of *family*, and *business*. A very large, and much the most active and vindictive portion of the pro-slavery of the North, is found to be traceable to marriage alliances, and residences of members of northern families in the South, or to the interest of northerners as merchants and ship-owners, in the produce and commerce of the slave States. Would the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the extent of its influence, rupture the tender, and in every possible view, comparatively innocent tie of religious sympathy, and spare the sordid dealer in the blood-nourished and blood-stained products of slave labor?

"The coastwise *slaver*, as truly a pirate here, as on the coast of Africa, is also to be spared! The mercantile connection of the North with slavery, embraces the entire subject of the consumption of slave labor products, against which so large a portion of this society are bearing an earnest testimony. Fulminate your anathemas against the *consumers* of these products, for there are none who more directly and powerfully support slavery. Fulminate them against every man who bears arms, or is capable of bearing arms; against every man who pays a tax, or breathes within the bounds of the Union, for they all support slavery, and there is no way of coming out of it, except by going out of the country! Every agent, who does not go about barefoot to lecture—every member of this society, who consumes a spoonful of salt for his meat, (one said, 'I do not eat meat,') well, for your porridge, then—pays a tax, which goes to support a government, an army and navy, devoted to slavery, executing its behests, suppressing its insurrections, piratically seizing foreign towns and territories for the benefit of it, and catching fugitives, at an expense of forty millions of dollars, in Florida, for it. By the reasoning of the author and advocates of this resolution, he and every man, woman, and child, who use a pinch of salt, is a Florida *slave-catcher*. On these principles, an amendment was proposed, which would give the resolution this form; that the American Anti-Slavery Society recommends a total separation from pro-slavery sects, parties and associations of every kind, and from every connection, act, and thing, which may lend any support, directly or indirectly, to the system of slavery."

The result of these deliberations was, that the resolution recommending separation from sects and parties, was recommitted, and no further action in any way had thereon; and, in respect to the Standard, a motion that the editor be requested to withdraw his resignation, was unanimously adopted. By these proceedings, I did suppose that the society, the executive committee, and myself, were brought into harmony, and that my impression that the resolution of the preceding annual meeting, (in favor of separation and the tee-total pledge,) did not express the deliberate judgment and real wishes of the society, was confirmed. Certainly, if I had not thought so, I would not have continued to edit the Standard for a single day, except by way of accommodating my friends until they could provide a successor. Subsequent events, however, convinced me that a spirit was at work, which would render my continuance not only uncomfortable, but, in a great measure, useless. And when, at the late annual meeting, the general doctrine of come-out-ism was reaffirmed, and especially when it was applied to the duty and allegiance, which we owe to the Constitution and Union, and which we cannot practically throw off, except by going into voluntary exile, I at once declared that I could no longer serve the American Anti-Slavery Society, as editor of its organ. Not that I should have objected, either now or heretofore, to the discussion of the dissolution of the Union, in the columns of the Standard; but that neither my convictions nor feelings prompted me, *at present*, to *advocate* it, particularly in presence of the stupendous question of the annexation of Texas, which, in my apprehension, involves either way, the dissolution of the Union. I admit, that all the arguments which can be adduced against slavery, will press with equal weight against the Union, if slavery be not speedily abolished within the jurisdiction of the federal government, and at an early day, throughout the slave States; and it is partly for this very reason, that I am opposed to a direct and immediate assault upon the Union. That head, which is forming with a ceaseless, though to a great extent, silent accumulation against slavery, will in any event sweep the Union, if slavery do not give way. Every particle of power which pushes at the one, will, in that alternative, push with equal efficacy at the other. But had I been prepared, individually, for direct action against the Union, I should have hesitated to commit the American Anti-Slavery Society to it by so thin a vote, and with so large a number of early, faithful, and zealous friends in the minority. The society consists of 600 members; only 149 appear on the roll of the late annual meeting, including delegates, and some who were neither members nor delegates. Only 78 voted on the question—a scanty number to determine a matter of such magnitude and importance!

Thus much I have thought it proper to say and repeat, not because I imagine that the promulgation, and still less, the reproduction of my opinions, are of much consequence, but simply that the readers and patrons of this paper, may be fully possessed of the cause and circumstances of the change, which it is about to undergo.

It is now thirteen years that I have been a laborer in the anti-slavery field. Reckoning from the first agitation of the project of annexing Texas, of which I was an instant, and have been a constant opponent on the same grounds that I oppose it now, it is fifteen years. I have been a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society from its formation, and connected with this paper as assistant, or sole editor, three years. I am unwilling to conclude this address, and take my final leave of the friends, patrons, readers, and coadjutors, with whom I have thus long communed, without expressing some views of a general character, touching the position of our cause, and the agencies now in existence for its advancement and consummation.

At an early period of the history of anti-slavery as an organization, and when we were suffering under persecution from the leading political, ecclesiastical, and trading interests and influences of the nation, some of the most zealous and valuable members of that organization, misled in the first instance by strong though no doubt honest sectarian biases, thought it incumbent upon them to separate from the anti-slavery movement, certain persons, who entertained opinions highly obnoxious to the community on other subjects as well as on slavery. Those opinions were supposed to have increased, and to be unnecessarily increasing the heavy odium unavoidably incurred by the advocacy of our cause. Had our discontented brethren been satisfied with setting themselves right before the public by a simple disclaimer, all would have been well. But they went farther, and assumed to demand of their associates, (who might with equal propriety have turned and made the opposite demand on them,) that they should abstain from the promulgation of those opinions, or go out of the anti-slavery organization. And to this effect they attempted to wield the power of that organization. Strongly pre-occupied against those opinions, independently of the inauspicious influence they supposed them to have on the anti-slavery cause, they undoubtedly persuaded themselves that they should gain many new, powerful, and popular adherents by the loss of a very few, not very powerful in a wordly view, and certainly very unpopular, old ones.

These are facts which I believe none will now dispute; nor that they produced, after an embittered struggle, a violent seism in our ranks, impairing essentially our force, and still more that public confidence, indispensable to its increase or maintenance. The corrupt maxim, that "all is fair in politics," applies to parties in everything. They are all more or less unscrupulous, and jesuitical as to the use of means for accomplishing what they deem to be righteous ends. Thus it came to pass that a portion of our brethren, who were the pioneers of the anti-slavery cause, and from the necessity of the very nature and habits, which had made them so, were ever foremost in every good word and work, were accused of obtruding those obnoxious opinions upon the anti-slavery platform, when in truth and in fact they were never heard of there until they were introduced by the complainants themselves for the purpose of putting them down, or driving from the anti-slavery cause, those who had originated it. From this time, as usually happens in such cases, real differences, which mutual respect for motives, and mutual forbearance would have readily healed, were aggravated, and artificial ones created, by men not having a heartfelt interest in the common object, but looking only or mainly to party and private ones. Without supposing that there has been, on either side, to any considerable extent, a want of principle, or premeditated and conscious wrong, I may say that there has been crimination and recrimination from exaggerated and imaginary causes; that both sides are sincerely devoted to the cardinal principles of our cause—the universal brotherhood and inalienable rights of man, and to the great duty of applying them to the imme-

diate emancipation,, relief and improvement of our colored brethren. Agreeing as to these truths and duties, we have in our action been weakening each others efforts and frustating each others work. Taking a retrospective view, I perceive that our several action has been to a considerable extent conducted in a temper of mutual contrariety, whereby the principle of antagonism, and the spirit of party, have been permitted imperceptibly to usurp the place of humanity. One side teaches that slavery is the *creature*, the other that it is the *creator*, of law; one the divinity, the other the hellishness of human governments; one the sacredness and omnipotence of the ballot-box, the other that the ballot-box is Pandora's box; one extols moral suasion, (and it can scarely be too much extolled,) as the lever which moves the world, the other derides it as "a stool pigeon"; one insists upon the rightfulness of swearing to that which they do not intend to perform, the other says "swear not at all"; one inculcates the sacredness and universality of the obligation to vote for somebody for everything, and the other declares that it is a duty to abstain from voting for anybody; and while both have agreed in founding their movements on the dignity, the rectitude, and the universal and equal rights of humanity, they also agree practically in trusting humanity but little, and in relying on party machinery and spiritual coercion—on influencing and using, *as well as* on enlightening and persuading men.

When "new organization" *went out* from the American Anti-Slavery Society, the society having refused at that time to submit to the imposition of tests and exclusions, they seized, as the salvation of their sect, upon political action, and formed what was then called "the third" now "the liberty party." Their first care was to get up a set of dogmas, a sort of spiritual team, by which to drag as with chains and oxen, abolitionists out of the other parties, and into their own. These were,

1. It is a sin not to vote.

2. Both of the existing parties are evil and equally evil.

3. And if they are not equally evil you have no right to chose the least of two evils.

4. It being a sin to vote for any candidate of the whigs, and a sin to vote for any candidate of the democrats, and a sin not to vote all, it follows that there is no escape from sin and misery except to join "the third party."

This was the true origin of come-out-ism as a principle of associate action in the anti-slavery cause. The honest indignation of the people against the iniquity, and the enormities of slavery, their anxiety to *act* against it somehow, and their habit of acting politically, prepared them to become an easy prey to a few men, who were either sincerely narrow minded and bigoted, or not sincere at all. The ministers who had joined the original antislavery society, went out unanimously with "new organization," in consequence of their abhorrence and fears of the heresies of Garrison, and others. These, and a still greater number of their order, who had stood aloof from the anti-slavery movement upon the plea that it was political, now joined the third political party as antagonist to the Garrisonians, and contributed extensively by their influence and their funds to build it up. Hence it was, that "third party," while they preached "come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing," in respect to political parties, were dumb as to any sin contracted by those who remain in the Church and under a clergy voluntarily countenancing, supporting and fellowshiping the dealers in "slaves and the souls of men." The keen and indefatigable agents of the old organization laboring in Western New-York, saw and seized the opportunity, which this inconsistency afforded them of breaking the lines of "the third party." Those agents set to preaching from the same text the duty of "coming out" from the churches as much more imperative than that of abandoning parties, because the churches made holier pretensions, and were more "the bulwark of slavery" than the political parties. This was the commencement of come-out-ism as as rule of organized action in the American Anti-Slavery Society. Itwas perfectly fair as an argument to show the inconsistency of "the third party," but as a principle, I have ever regarded it, as I have the dogmas of Leavitt, Stanton, Wright, &c. as a humbug, which connot live long, though it may live long enough in these times of Millerism and Mormonism, to addle the brains of many men and women, and do them and the community a great deal of mischief.

In giving, on a former occasion, the geneology of come-out-ism, I was in some degree misunderstood. I referred as I have now, to come-out-ism, solely as a rule of associate action. There is and was for sometime before the events to which I have alluded, a genuine come-out-ism for which I have ever had a very high respect. It is that to which many conscientious, and noblehearted men and women have felt themselves impelled when they have, as they supposed, exhausted argument, and borne their testimony in vain to their pro-slavery churches and ministers. In such cases it has no doubt done good, though I doubt whether it has in many done the highest good; but whether good or not it was no sham.

I do not doubt that the liberty party has done some good, and that Abby Kelley and Stephen S. Foster, with iheir teetotal pledge, have incidentally done some good, though it has been chiefly to that party. But all of them have used bad means, means replete with the very spirit of slaveholding.—They have also done much evil, and *prevented* more good than they have *done*. I believe that the subtle and deceitful spirit of antagonism, has crippled, in the old organization, the healthy political action to which abolition principles naturally lead, and has thrown stumbling-stones in the path of many, who disapprove of a political abolition party, and yet yearn for free and vigorous political action. I firmly believe in such action, as one of the natural and necessary results of moral suasion, but I as firmly believe that it is a dangerous error to exalt the former above the latter, and still more to substitute it for it. I believe that moral and religious conviction is the substance of abolitionism, and political power the shadow which will necessarily follow, but cannot be caught. I am of opinion that the most convenient and effective form of political action is to propound to every candidate for an important or political office, respectful and well-considered interrogatories touching abolition principles and measures, and that in all cases where the response, together with the evidence of general trustworthiness, shall convince us that the candidate if elected will do our anti-slavery work, then to give him a united and hearty support. Interrogatories ought, however, to be used in good faith, and with a sincere determination to support the candidate, who answers in accordance with our wishes. The interrogatory system has been brought into disrepute by being used to entrap candidates, without the intention in any event of giving them a vote. To the man who comes up, to the anti-slavery work, I will give, and for many years have given my vote, be his general politics what they may. Because slavery is such a master principle of injustice and mischief in government and society in this country—has had such an all-pervading and controlling influence in causing the demoralization of the one and the maladministration of the other, that I have brought myself to believe that a man imbued with the spirit and principles of abolition can do as a legislator or magistrate, but little wrong, and he who is not so imbued, but little right, whatever they may think on any other subject.

I see and feel that the demand evidently increasing, both in extent and emphasis, that the clergy and the Church should not shrink from waging a holy war with slavery, as well as with other forms of wickedness, is entirely just. Still, I must declare that I do not approve of the indiscriminate denunciation which is dealt to that body of men. Abolitionists seem to deny, no doubt unconsciously, to that class of our fellow-men, the benefit of their favorite text, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." According to this, we should recognize in them, as much as in the degraded slave, or his misguided master, a title to our benevolent regard, and fraternal indulgence. There are none among us, who would not treat with forbearance a brother by consanguinity, if he were a slaveholder, a slavebreeder, a slave-trader, or what is worse than all of them, a northern pro slavery priest. There is not one who would not labor patiently and tenderly, for his conviction and conversion. The wildest, and most unsparing denouncers, have never thought of demanding the sacrifice of family ties, on account of slaveholding, pro-slavery, or other offenses of the deepest die. But we are all brethren "of one blood," and this we have always recognized as the leading principle of our great enterprise, as well as of all just government. It is inconsistent with this principle, to treat any human being as abandoned, cast out, and cursed of God.

Far as a large majority of the clergy are from doing their duty in regard to this righteous and Godlike undertaking, still, I think they have come forward as fast as any class, who, by their position and pursuits, are naturally conservative. Undoubtedly they ought to come forward faster, set apart as they are, to be "ensamples to all the people." Their delinquency, however great, does not exonerate abolitionists from laboring kindly and perseveringly for their conversion, and for utilizing, by all proper means, so powerful an instrumentality in the cause of the poor slave. God and themselves alone know what have been the whisperings of their inward witness, and the extent of their guilt. Every true abolitionist must wish to see them faithfully and fearlessly reproved, and if they feel above it, it only shows that they need reproof the more. But my mind revolts, and I believe that the public mind in any state not inflamed to the pitch of persecution, will ever revolt at indiscriminate defamation, of this or any other class of men. We have had many bright examples of clerical devotion to our cause. To the excellent and tender-spirited men who have given those examples, it cannot but seem unjust, as it probably is painful, to hear the body to which they belong, and from which they perhaps have but recently learned on this subject to dissent, stigmatized as "a brotherhood of thieves," and as "incapable by their position, of being anything but hypocrites and knaves." If this be true, then in the name of the God of truth and justice, let it be said, be the consequences to us or to them what they may. But I do not believe it. There is, to say the least, a fair proportion of pure and righteous living, excellent attainments, and gentle humanity, in that class; and if they do not so much for the advance of virtue as they do to keep it from retrograding, it must be owing to the external and conventional form and circumstances of the relation in which they are placed, a form and circumstances which we, as well as they, have had a hand in giving it.

Although the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade have been set forth in our own language and in popular forms for more than fifty years, yet it is but a little more than ten that any portion of the people of this country or of any other have learned "to feel for them in bonds as bound with them." We can all remember the time when we were satisfied with the dead silence of the clergy on this subject, when indeed we might have been disgusted and offended at a departure from it.

There is less excuse for it now; aye and how much less is there of it now! Verily we are all guilty concerning our brother. Priest and people, high and low, slaveholder and non-slaveholder have need of repentance, mutual candor, kindness and forbearance. In conclusion I regret to say that I have great doubt whether any existing association for the abolition of American slavery is possessed of such candid, conciliatory, extensive and equitable views as seem to me indispensable to ultimate success. I have the highest respect for the characters and motives of my associates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of most of the abolitionists of the Liberty Party, while I differ in some respects from the opinions of both.

The Standard is to be edited by SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, MARIA W. CHAPMAN, and EDMUND QUINCY. It is superfluous, for any other purpose than to show my respect for them, to say that I am confident that in their hands it will be distinguished by such pure truthfulness and such literary excellence as will make it most welcome to its subscribers and readers, whether they agree to every one of the opinions it may contain or not

Craving the indulgence of my readers for errors and deficiencies, wishing them happiness, and hoping for their kind remembrance of the slave and myself, I respectfully take my leave.—D. L. CHILD.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Last week we published a sketch of the proceedings and debates of the American Anti-Slavery Society at its late annual meeting. It was intended that the following official journal should accompany it, but it was omitted for want of room:

The American Anti-Slavery Society met, for the transaction of business, on Tuesday, May 7, in Concert Hall, at half-past 3 o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the president, William Lloyd Garrison. William A. White, Paulina S. Wright, and C. L. Remond, were chosen secretaries. It was voted on motion of Wendell Phillips, that a committee of twenty-five be appointed, to prepare and report business for the action of the meeting; and on motion of E. Quincy, it was voted that the committee be nominated by the chair.

On motion of E. Quincy, it was voted that a committee of seven be appointed by the chair to nominate officers for the coming year; and the following persons were nominated, and chosen: E. Quincy, Nathan Winslow, Abby Kelley, Parker Pillsbury, Edward M. Davis, Francis Wright, and Rufus Bliss.

On motion of C. C. Burleigh, the question of amendment to the Constitution of the society, was taken up. The amendment proposed that the executive committee shall be located wherever the society may direct, it being now required that the committee shall be located in New-York. The amendment is as follows: In article 6th, strike out the words "in New-York," and insert the words, "in such part of the country as each meeting, shall determine."

After a discussion by Pillsbury, Abby Kelley, S. Foster, W. Phillips, T. Van Rensellaer, and A. Ballou, the amendment was unanimously adopted.

A motion was made that the executive committee be located, during the coming year, in Boston; and was discussed by A. Buffum, Green, Brown, H. Clapp, jr. Van Rensellaer, S. S. Foster, P. Libby, and others. The motion was laid on the table.

The treasurer's report was handed in, and referred to E. M. Davis, and Christopher Robinson, as an auditing committee.

The following persons were nominated by the chair, and chosen as a business committee: W. Phillips, P. Libby, S. S. Foster, P. Pillsbury, Abby Kelley, Caroline Weston, J. M. McKim, Edmund Jackson, E. D. Hudson, Edmund Quincy, E. G. Loring, James S. Gibbons, E. M. Davis C. L. Remond, C. C. Burleigh, H. Clapp, jr. Adin Ballou, Francis Jackson, W. P. Powell, Thomas Earle, Joseph Southwick, J. Hutchinson, Frederic Douglass, and J. C. Hathaway. On motion, Wm. L. Garrison was added to the committee, and power given to the committee to add to its number.

J. C. Hathaway, I. C. Ray, and C. M. Burleigh, were appointed a comm ttee on the roll and finance.

After a song by the Hutchinsons, the society adjourned to meet at half-past nine o'clock, Wednesday morning.

Wednesday Morning.—The meeting being called to order by the President, and opportunity being given, prayer was offered by T. Van Rensellaer.

The resolution "to remove the executive committee to Boston for the coming year," was taken from the table and unanimously passed.

The business committee reported the following resolutions, (1, 2, 3, and 4,) and it was voted that they be taken for discussion separately:

1. Resolved, That the only bright spot we can see, in the foul plan of annexing Texas to this country, is the hope that the very depth of its infamy may stun the drunken indifference of the people into sobriety, and awaken them to the duty of trampling under foot a Constitution which has brought them nothing but disaster and disgrace.

2. Resolved, That in the easy credulity with which the mass of the people receive the paltering equivocation of leading statesmen on the subject of the annexation of Texas, we see the clearest evidence that it will take place ere long—that we hereby protest against such annexation, in the name of the Constitution, of Justice, and Humanity, as utterly null and void; and record our conviction that, upon its consummation, there is nothing left for the people of the free States, but to call a convention to frame a better Constitution, and form a real Union.

3. Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power, have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union, rivets the chain of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.

4. Resolved, That the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation to disolve the American Union.

Resolution, No. 1, was taken up, and the following amendment was offered by Thomas Earle: Insert after the word "country," the following words: "with the avowed object of sustaining slavery." The discussion of the resolution was carried on by T. Earle, W. Phillips, C. C. Burleigh, D. L. Child, W. L. Garrison, Breed, S. S. Foster, and A. Buffum; the last of whom offered an amendment that all after the word "sobriety" be stricken from the resolution. The resolution was laid on the table.

J. McCune Smith offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, It appears from the criminal statistics of Massachusetts, that there was in 1843, one in 21 of the free colored people of Massachusetts in jails and houses of correction; therefore,

Resolved, That this society instruct its agents in Massachusetts to inquire,

1st. Whether this is the result of emancipation on the free colored population; or

2d. Whether it be the consequence of those now in jail being escaped slaves from the South, wherein petty larceny is not punished by imprisonment, and have committed these crimes in ignorance; or

3d. Whether it arise from the unequal administration of punishing the free colored people on less evidence, and more rigorously, than the whites.

These resolutions were discussed by the mover, by Burleigh, W. A. White, W. Phillips, T. Earle, J. C. Hathaway, Powell T. Van Rensellear, C. L. Remond, and S. S. Foster, and passed.

Thos. Earle offered two resolutions, which were passed.

After a song from the Hutchinsons, the society adjourned, to meet at half-past 3 o'clock, P. M.

Wednesday Afternoon.—The meeting was called to order by the President. The business committee introduced the following resolutions:

5. Resolved, That political union in any form, between a slaveholding and free community, must necessarily involve the latter in the guilt of slavery.

6. Therefore Resolved, That secession from the present United States government is the duty of every abolitionist; since no one can take office, or throw a vote for another to hold office, under the United States Constitution, without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor of the slaveholder in his sin.

They were supported by W. Phillips and S. S. Foster, and opposed by E. G. Loring, James, Thos. Earle and Arnold Buffum. The resolutions were laid on the table, and 11 o'clock Thursday assigned as the time for taking the question.

The Hutchinsons sang "Get off the Track," and the society adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock, Thursday, A. M.

Thursday Morning.—The meeting was called to order by F. Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents. Song from the Hutchinsons.

Resolutions 5 and 6 were taken up and Thos. Earle offered the following amendment: Resolved that it is the imperious duty of the northern States immediately to dissolve their connection with slavery, either by an alteration of the Constitution, or a dissolution of the American Union.

The resolutions were laid on the table to allow a motion to be introduced, requesting the speaker, to confine themselves within 15 minutes each, but this motion was lost. The discussion was resumed. A report on the resolutions was presented by Mr. Garrison from the business committee. [See address on the dissolution of Union with slaveholders in the last Standard.] Earle's amendment was supported by W. A. White, J. McCune Smith, and opposed by C. L. Remond. The vote obliging the society to take the vote at 11 o'clock on the resolutions was reconsidered.

The following amendment was offered and supported by W. H. Channing:

Resolved, That as the sin of the people of the United States, in enslaving our brethren, has been, and is an *associate sin*, so should our repentance be an *associate repentance*; and therefore having, as a nation, in the adoption of our slaveholding Constitution, committed a hypocritical outrage upon the original principle of our national life, which is HUMANITY, we should now, as a nation, confess our errors and misdeeds, and straightway adopt a new Constitution, which shall be just to each, and every member of this nation, and enable us to realize, in deed and in truth, the UNION OF FREEMEN, which is our *destiny*, and *duty*, and will be our glory.

T. Earle's amendment was supported by E. G. Loring, and opposed by S. S. Foster, and E. Quincy.

After a song from the Hutchinsons, the society adjourned, to meet at half-past 3, P. M.

Thursday Afternoon.—Meeting called to order by one of the vice presidents. Thomas Earle's amendment was opposed by Wm. L. Garrison, and supported by D. L. Child, and T. Earle. The question was laid on the table, after an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a vote for the previous question. After a song from the Hutchinsons, the society adjourned at half-past 7 o'clock, to meet at 8 o'clock, Friday morning.

Friday Morning.—The meeting was called to order by the president. After some desultory discussion, a motion was made by Francis Jackson, "that the reading of the annual report be dispensed with, and the report referred to the executive committee, to take such action as they may see fit." Debated by T. Earle, Abby Kelley, and D. L. Child. The motion was adopted. The following resolution was offered by H. Clapp, jr. (7) and passed without discussion:

7. Whereas, no institution is more hostile to the anti-slavery movement than the professedly Christian Church in this country; and whereas, from her prominent position, her high professions, her deep hold upon the affections of the people, and her immense influence, she ought to be first among the foremost in the ranks of freedom; and whereas, by continuing our connection with so base an institution, we do thereby surround the system of American slavery with holy sanction, and entrench it behind religious bulwarks; therefore, Resolved, as the deliberate opinion of this society, that it is the duty of every true abolitionist to withdraw entirely from the support of said institution, and to hold her up before the people as hypocritical in profession, infamous in practice, as having usurped the name of Christian Church, and as being one of the greatest obstacles in the way of immediate emancipation.

The following resolution (8) was offered from the business committee, and an amendments was offered by D. L. Child, (9 and 10,) and the whole, after some debate, was laid on the table:

8. Resolved, That we highly disapprove that part of the recently published letter of Cassius M. Clay, which implies that it is right for us to vote for a sinner, to commit sin as an official agent, merely because that sinner may not himself have seen the sin in the light in which we see it, thus making the eyes of the candidate instead of the voter, the guide of the voter's action: and because he intimates that it will be right to vote for a slaveholder at the next election, but wrong forever afterward—propositions that we consider utterly at war, not only with sound morality, but also with practical common sense.

The two following amendments were offered by Mr. Child:

9. Resolved, That we hail with delight, C. M.] Clay's late act of justice and humanity, in emancipating his slaves, and his noble attitude against slavery in a slave State.

10. Resolved, That we regard with satisfaction the letter of Henry Clay, in relation to the annexation of Texas.

A report and resolution was introduced by T. Earle, from a committee appointed at the last meeting of the society, censuring John Quincy Adams.

The following amendment was offered by Dr. Smith:

Strike out after word "resolved," and insert, "that this society cordially approve of the noble stand taken by J. Q. Adams, in the House of Representatives, in behalf of the right of petition." The whole subject was laid on the table. The said report and resolution were ordered not to be printed within one month, unless a minority report shall be sooner prepared to accompany it.

The following resolves were offered by H. Clapp, *jr.* and on motion, laid on the table:

[For these resolutions, see last Standard.]

Resolution (11) was introduced from the business committee, and passed.

11. Resolved, That the executive committee be requested to have a large edition of the following petition printed and circulated for signatures, and endeavor to have them sent into Congress in season for presentation, during the first week of the session:

To the Senate and House of Representatives, of the United States of America:

The petition of the undersigned, inhabitants of the State of ——, ask that you will take measures for effecting such change in the Constitution of the United States, that it shall not authorize, nor permit the government of the Union to assist, nor to require of the people of this State, to assist in any manner, in the holding of human beings in slavery.

Resolutions (12 and 13) were offered from the business committee, and laid on the table:

12. Resolved, That this society repeats its often previously expressed opinion, that such abolitionists as may think fit to vote, ought not to support any candidate for office, who is not openly favorable to the abrogation of all law and constitutional provisions within the sphere of his action, which in any manner sustain or sanction slavery.

13. Resolved, That this society desires, by itself, and its agents, to preserve entire neutrality between the political parties, in reference to all questions not palpably connected with the abolition of slavery.

The question on the acceptance of the report on disunion was taken, and decided in affirmative; *yeas* 59, *nays* 21. Those voting in the affirmative, were

E. G. Buffum, Dorcas Harmon, W. L. Garrison, L. Mott, A. Southwick, P. S. Wright, A. Gardner, A. Sisson, E. C. Peirce, E. A. Comstock, J. Hutchinson, jr. Maria Crummell, E. D. Hudson, T. Van Rensellaer, Henry Clapp, jr. Abel Tanner. Daniel Mitchell, Francis Jackson, Adin Ballou, Wendell Phillips, L. La Due, Nathan Evans, George Doughty, Abby Kimtor, Eleanor Smith, Anna Southwick, W. H. Channing, Mary W. Post, Sydney H. Gay, H. H. Crummell, Emma Weston, Edmund Quincy, Caroline Weston, Abby Kelly, William M. Brown, S. S. Foster, Alice H. Eaton, Thomas M. Hathaway, Mrs. Joseph, Susan Sisson, E. D. Draper, Lydia Buffum, J. C. Ray, C. L. Remond, Elizabeth Whitmore, J. Hill, Parker Pillsbury, E. Shove, G. H. Brown, M. Minisee, Peter Libby Amy Post, Elizabeth Sluby, AbelBrown, John Baily, Ann H. Ray.

Those who voted in the negative, were

Thomas Earle, W. McKim, J. S. Gibbons, Abnez Sanger, Arnold Buffum, J. Southwick, W. P. Green, C. M. Burleigh, J. M. McKim, Thomas S. Cavender, C. C. Burleigh, E G. Loring. W. A, White, M. Gately, John H. Byrd, David Joy, A. M. White, Maria White E. H. Coggins, Phebe Ketchum, D. L. Child.

Resolution (5) was taken up and passed. Resolution (6) was taken up, with W. H. Channing's, and Thomas Earle's amendments.

Channing's resolution was withdrawn as an amendment, and made one of the series. It was adopted.

Thomas Earle's substitute was rejected.

The original resolution (6) as offered by Mr. Phillips, was adopted.

The committee on nominating officers, offered the following report, which was adopted:

[See list of officers in last Standard.]

The resolve on H. Clay's letter on the annexation of Texas, was promptly rejected, two persons only voting in the affirmative.

Voted to adjourn, sine die.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WM. A. WHITE,
PAULINA S. WRIGHT,
C. L. REMOND,
} Secretaries.

The following amendment offered by C. C. Burleigh, to the resolution, and Mr. Child's amendment thereto, respecting Mr. C. M. Clay, is omitted, we presume by mistake, in the foregoing record:

Resolved, That our approbation of Cassius M. Clay's act of justice and humanity in emancipating his slaves, and of the attitude he has taken against slavery in a slave State, increases rather than lessens our regret at his inconsistent course in this particular.

This was rejected, and also Mr. Child's amendment.

Some other resolutions, offered by Earle and Phillips, and the remonstrances against the disunion address and resolutions are not noted in the record, but as they were published in the last Standard, we deem it unnecessary to repeat them.

Donations to the Anti-Slavery Society, at the Annual Meeting.

Nathan Winslow, $1; E. D. Hudson, $1; T. Van Rensellaer, $1; L. Wetmore, $1; J. Hutchinson, jr. $1; E. L. Capron, $1; C. Robinson, $1; A. H. Stuart, $1; T. Haley, $1; J. Bailey, $1; J. Southwick, $1; W. P. Green, 25 c.; D. Mitchell, $1; Willys Anus, $1; F. Jackson, $3; John Ketchum, 1; Phebe Ketchum, $1; J. Carpenter, $1; N. Bradford, 50 c.; W. A. Hale, 50 c.; Roswell Goss, $1; Adin Ballou, 50 c.; W. A. White, $2; P. S. Wright, $1; Emma Weston, $1; Edmund Quincy, $2; Caroline Weston, $1; C. Swan Brown, $1; M. Gately, $1; L. G. Thomas, $1; Dolly Thomas, 50 c.; Alice H. Eaton, 50 c.; Cash, 50 c.; Avis Sisson, $1; Cash, $1; David and Charlotte Joy, $5; Friend, 50 c.; do. 25 c.; do. 12 c.; Francis Wright, $1; W. Morgan, $2; Anna Sisson, $1; E. D. Draper, $1; Eliza Shove, 50 c.; Lydia Buffum, $1; Anna Inman, $1; Cash, 50 c.; Mr. Brown, 25 c.; W. H. Hunt, $1; W. Phillips, $2; J. S. Gibbons, $2; L. C. Lockwood, 25 c.; E. M. Davis, $3; L. La Due, 50 c.; N. Evans, $2; S. W. Marriott, $2; G. Doughty, $2; S. S. Carpenter, 25 c.; Abby Kimbor, $1; Friend, 50 c.; J. M. McKim, $1; F. Augustin, 50 c.; Friend, 25 c.; J. Leonard, $2; E. Smith, $2; J. Preston, 50 c.; E. J. Neal, $1; T. S. Cavender, $2; E. Mott, $1; Anna Southwick, $1; W. H. Channing, $1; C. C. Burleigh, $1; W. S. Hemstead, $1; C. Prince, $1; Friend, 50 c.; J. Post, $1; M. W. Post, $1; Amy Post, $1; H. C. Crummell, 25 c.; J. B. Congdon, $2.

☞ It is presumed that there are errors in this list, and also in the list of *yeas* and *nays*, owing to the obscurity of the writing.

☞ We have been requested to mention that J. A. Collins will hold meetings on *Social Reform*, next week, at Boston.

Anti-Slavery Items.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF SLAVES.—The Charleston Mercury, alluding to this subject, and to the efforts of Bishop Berkeley, remarks:—"No longer than ten or twelve years since, when the plan of sending missionaries to our blacks was first entered upon, we well remember the opposition it raised among the planters, who were averse to it as an innovation, with ill consequences, they could not tell what, but which they were determined not to risk. As all thinking men foresaw, their fears have proved perfectly groundless, and we venture to say, not one who has made the experiment, but will heartily subscribe to Bishop Berkeley's observations. What prejudice still exists, we are sure a very few years more of trial will remove, and that man will come to be regarded in South Carolina, a monster, as he is, who, through selfishness and pusilanimity, exerts the shocking despotism of sealing the mind of his poor slave to a knowledge of God and a future world. Such a man does not deserve to live."—*New-York Sun.*

Such is the opinion of the editor of the Mercury, who, surrounded by slavery, and its detestable influences, has just found out that in a few years *more*, "the man who opposes the religious instruction of his slaves, will be regarded in South Carolina as a monster, as he is," &c. It appears to us that there is at least *one* man there at present, who so regards such a man; and we rejoice that he dares, even in the midst of slavery, to express himself so boldly. When, a few years ago, Mr. Thome declared "the plantations of the South to be the graveyards of the mind, and the inexpressive countenances of the slaves the monuments of souls expired;" it was pronounced the language of fanaticism; but now that a man, even in a slave State, is considered a MONSTER, exerting a *shocking despotism*, who endeavors to seal that immortal mind which nature's God has given to beatify the man and glorify the Creator, and the sentiment is endorsed as emanating from a sane mind, after calm and deliberate reflection. But the editor says, "Such a man does not deserve to live." This is ALL that abolitionists require.—*Albany North Star.*

The North Star is a paper written and published by colored friends of temperance and freedom. We regret to learn from the last number, that it is negligently paid and poorly sustained; a fact not creditable to the colored people, nor white either. It is a paper of much merit.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE TWENTY-FIRST RULE.—It may be recollected that upon the vote of the House of Representatives to rescind the rule which forbade the reception of abolition petitions, Mr. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, separated from his colleagues, and voted for the rescinding. For this he had been denounced by some of the presses of the party at home, menacingly, though somewhat indirectly, by the New Hampshire Patriot, and more pointedly and severely by the Newport Spectator. The latter journal is said to be the organ, if not the property, of Mr. Burke, who, as a representative in Congress, has been consisteut in his support of the "gag." On the other hand, the Gazette, at Dover, Mr. Hale's residence, sustains and defends him against the attacks of its democratic brethren; and democratic conventions in Rockingham and Strafford counties, composed of the immediate constituents of Mr. Hale, have recently passed votes, sanctioning and approving his course. The discussion or quarrel, between the assailants and supporters of Mr. Hale, cannot but do good, since it has already shown that some of the democracy of New Hampshire have become restive under the degrading domination, by which, through their leaders, they have hitherto been bound to slavery and the slave rule.—*Boston Courier.*

NOTICES.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, at the Marlboro' chapel, on TUESDAY, May 28th, at 10 o'clock, A. M.; and will continue three or four days. The abolitionists of New England, and of the United States, are earnestly invited to attend this most important and interesting gathering. The Hutchinson family will be present, and many eloquent advocates of the slave's cause are confidently expected from various parts of the country. Let there be a general rally of those who are resolved upon a vigorous campaign for the coming year. FRANCIS JACKSON,

Pres't. Mass. A. S. Society.

EDMUND QUINCY, Secretary.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

Abolitionists of Rhode Island—Dear Friends:—

The members of the Providence Ladies Anti-Slavery Society feeling that the times demand on their part, and on the part of abolitionists generally, more energetic and decisive action, have determined to hold a FAIR in this city, on the first Wednesday (Commencement day) of September, 1844.

As to the design of this Fair, little need be said to incite exertion on your part. Three millions of American citizens are in slavery: we wish to aid in their speedy and unconditional emancipation. What effort can be more praiseworthy in its purpose? What object more glorious in its accomplishment? It is an effort in behalf of Freedom. The time has been when the mention of a design like this would thrill, as with electic speed and power, the hearts of our little commonwealth. Reputation, property, and life, would all be spontaneously and freely offered upon the altar of liberty. In the dark and stormy days of religious persecution, Rhode Island was freedom's eyrie. In the still darker and stormier days of the revolution, our men and women counted toil and deprivation, joyful. Shall it be, that now, when a religious intolerance and persecution, more bigoted and cruel—when a tyranny more fearful and degrading than it has ever before been the world's lot to witness, pollutes our soil, that a call for help shall not meet with a hearty and cheering response? Surely not. There is among you, dear friends, a heart-engendered philanthropy that will not suffer it.

Our countrymen are degraded, oppressed, murdered; the blasting and withering influences of slavery are paralyzing the nerves of our national prosperity and power; draining the well-springs of humanity, and choking with insurmountable barriers, the channels of free thought and utterance. On this behalf we call upon you for help. Let it come, in any and every shape. Your purses, your farms, your workshops, your factories, and your stores, we expect will be laid under liberal contribution. Things to eat and things to drink—things to be seen and things to be worn—things useful and things fanciful—let them all come, in overwhelming abundance. Nothing can be too numerous, too great, or too small.

We ask each one of you to do something. Form at once, sewing circles and knitting societies—organize and send forth efficient soliciting committees. Let no person remain idle or unsolicited—no corner of the State unsearched, for aid. All this do, for the slave's sake. The foes of freedom are mustering strong, even now, and the battle waxes hot. Come each one, and all, bear a hand.

☞ Articles designed for the Fair may be sent to the Anti-Slavery office, No. 2, Broad street—care of Amarancy Paine. Any information that may be desired, will be readily given by Miss Paine, on addressing her by mail, or otherwise.

Susan R. Morris, *Abby Thurber,*
Sarah B. P. Foster, *Olive Tuber,*
Hannah B. Shove, *Nancy H. Shove,*
Abby Burgess, *Mary Hathaway,*
Lucretia Francis, *Mary Smith,*
Sarah Smith, *Caroline Ashly,*

eow3t *Amarancy Paine.*

UNION FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.

An adjourned meeting of said association will be held at Bart (Friends) Meeting-house, on Firstday, the 26th instant, at 1 o'clock. The public is invited to attend.

Russelville, 5th mo. 16th, 1844.

"VISIT TO THE WEST INDIES."

This is the title of a neat little volume, just published, which is said, by those who have read it, to be very interesting, and calculated to do much good. It is the narrative of a visit made to the British West Indies, in the winter of 1841, by George Truman, John Jackson, and Thomas B. Longstreth; and contains the testimony of these Friends to the happy effects of emancipation in those islands. It may be had at Baker & Crane's, 158 Pearl street, N. Y.; of E. P. Willis, Rochester; Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket; and Joseph Post, Long Island.

May 16th, 1844.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENN SYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, but let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit.* If any of our friends in the country, will come and superintend the sale of their articles, they will be most welcome, and their aid truly valuable.

We are sorry to say that our poultry stall was not as well furnished as usual last year. Will not abolitionists who are preparing produce for their own tables or the market, remember, and give us a practical proof that they remember the physically and spiritually starved slave? Give to him, as God hath given to you, freely, abundantly.

We advise all who intend to work in this department, (and what abolitionist in Eastern Pennsylvania does not) so begin at once to do something, and enlist the sympathies and efforts of as many others as possible.

We are sure, dear friends, that none of us will regret having done too much, but we may regret having done too little for the emancipation of two and a half millions of slaves.

On behalf of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Anne M. Hopper, *Maria M. Davis,*
Mary Grew, *Emma Parker,*
Sarah McKim, *Matilda Casey,*
Phebe Earle, *Taressa Hallowell,*
Hulda Justice, *Elizabeth J. Neall,*
Susan Dorsey, *Rebecca Stackhouse,*
Gertude H. Burleigh, *Sarah Pugh,*
Harriet Snyder, *Mary Shaw,*
Margaret Griscom, *Sarah Dorsey*
Sarah M. Douglass, *Margaret Jones,*
Harriet D. Purvis, *Margaretta Forten,*
Hetty Burr, *Esther Reckless,*
Mary T. Stickney, *Jannetta Jackson,*
Martha T. Carman, *Elizabeth Carman,*
Mary Earle, *Lydia Gillingham,*
Sidney Ann Lewis, *Hannah Lee Stickney,*
Sarah Lewis, *Susan Grew,*

Susan Shaw.

PHILADELPHIA, April 23d, 1844.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, this appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by upholding this Fair. The experience of ten years enables the women of Massachusetts to present it to you as an effectual channel, through which your sympathy may unite with that of others, to swell the flood of effort by which high principle shall be diffused, and right feeling excited, till the horrible institution of slavery shall be swept away.

None of the funds raised by means of this Fair are ever permitted to run to waste in building up a political party, or in defraying electioneering expenses. They are used to promulgate, through the press, and by the living voice, the truths of freedom, which convert men's hearts to the cause. We give a guaranty for the economical and judicious disposal of them, by providing for their expenditure by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Without going back for years, to recapitulate former help, the beneficial consequences of which are in perpetual glow, we will simply state that the proceeds of this last year's Fair were TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, exclusive of many small appropriations, and the necessary expenses; and that, lacking the prospect of this aid, neither the Hundred Western Conventions, nor the Hundred Conventions now

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

CHANNING.

I've read the page of Channing, till my soul
Grows warm within me, and the gloriousness
Of truth, and life's high purposes rise up
In living freshness. Never was it mine
To clasp his hand in friendship's trust, or *read*
The thoughts that gleamed upon his lineaments—
Yet, on the speaking page, I've mingled with
His gentle spirit, and have felt that none
Whose struggling human hearts ask yearningly
For sympathy, might call him by the name
Of stranger. Truth, to him, revealed itself
In beauty's form, and on his listening soul,
From out all pure and lovely things, arose
Harmonious strains of music spiritual.
Oh! beautifully o'er the earth went forth
His sympathies, as sunshine visiting
The lowliest—tracing there the holy claim
Which makes earth's children brothers. To his ear
The stifled wail of dying bondmen came,
And, like the perfect man of old, he searched
Their cause, and for the dumb became a mouth:
Then round him rose derision's laugh, and mute
Became the fawning tongue. But steadfastly,
In calm and lofty trust, his onward way
He kept, for well he knew that scorn hath curled
His haughtiest lip at deeds which angels view
With smiles; and when the world, with loud huzzas,
Hath clapped its hands, men's guardian spirits, oft,
Have sorrowing turned away. His was the trust
In God and faith, in man's progression; his
The Love and Hope, whose ministry made strong
His spirit, and life's early greenness kept
Still fresh through shadowing years: for never yet
Hath love been sprinkled with the frosts of age;
And hope, in youthful maiden, or the sire
Of threescore years, is still the morning glow—
The spring's young song.

An autumn Sabbath lay
In silent grandeur on the earth, and bright
The sun was going in his glory down,
When, calm as that serene, reposing hour,
This giant laborer paused, and folded up
His arms, and went to rest in God. He passed
From sight, but breathing in his lines, he left
His glowing spirit, deep to stir men's souls,
And raise them with the lofty thoughts which moved
In him as inspirations. Passed from sight!
But on Fame's scroll he placed the seal of truth,
And with his life wrote pure and righteous deeds:
And every deed that's once accomplished, hath
Become a part of the unchanging past,
And onward its deep echoes roll, to voice
The farthest aisles of dim Futurity.
Oh! I have felt that I have better loved
The world for Channing's sake! my heart hath swelled
With glad thanksgivings, as it lingered on
The pathway clear, where he, and such as he—
The true, the wise, the good, have journeyed through
Life's darkling mazes—leaving there their lives
As lamps of brightness. God hath made the gifts
Of mind our common treasure, and upon
Life's toiling field, refreshing breezes from
The land of thought blow sweetly o'er us, and
We catch that melody which anthem-like
Arose in spirits true, who battled with
Temptation's hosts, and from the conflict field
Of life, came out victorious. Men may build
Sectarian walls, and pile with daring hand
Their partial barriers high, but over all
The truthful utterance of the earnest soul
Goes forth, and from afar—o'er mountain snows
And ocean surges—from the common heart
Come back its deep responses. Oh! 'tis not
Upbuilding monuments to fading dust,
Nor offering homage at an earthly shrine,
To reverence the infinite in man.
All love, all truth, all beauty there, are but
Revealings of the Highest; and although
The beings loved in whom they dwelt enshrined,
Pass from our clinging grasp, all loveliness,
Undying, in its own infinitude
Springs up again, in other forms it wins
Our love, and maketh green the desert wastes
Of life.

N.

Chester County, Pa.

BETTER MOMENTS.

BY N. P. WILLIS.

My mother's voice! how often creeps
Its cadence on my lonely hours!
Like healing sent on wings of sleep,
Or dew to the unconscious flowers.
I can forget her melting prayer
While leaping pulses madly fly,
But in the still, unbroken air,
Her gentle tone comes stealing by—
And years, and sin, and manhood flee,
And leave me at my mother's knee.
The book of nature, and the print
Of beauty on the whispering sea,
Give aye to me some lineament
Of what I have been taught to be.
My heart is harder, and perhaps
My manliness hath drank up tears;
And there's a mildew in the lapse
Of a few miserable years—
But nature's book is even yet
With all my mother's lessons writ.
I have been out at eventide
Beneath a moonlight sky of spring,
When earth was garnished like a bride,
And night had on her silver wing—
When bursting leaves, and diamond grass,
And waters leaping to the light,
And all that make the pulses pass
With wilder fleetness, thronged the night—
When all was beauty—then have I
With friends on whom my love is flung
Like myrrh on wings of Araby,
Gazed up where evening's lamp is hung,
And when the beautiful spirit there
Flung over me its golden chain,
My mother's voice came on the air
Like the light dropping of the rain—
And resting on some silver star
The spirit of a bended knee,
I've poured out low and fervent prayer
That our eternity might be
To rise in heaven, like stars at night,
And tread a living path of light.
I have been on the dewy hills,
When night was stealing from the dawn,
And mist was on the waking rills,
And tints were delicately drawn
In the grey East—when birds were waking,
With a low murmur in the trees,
And melody by fits was breaking
Upon the whisper of the breeze,
And this when I was forth, perchance
As a worn reveler from the dance—
And when the sun sprang gloriously
And freely up, and hill and river
Were catching upon wave and tree,
The arrows from his subtle quiver—
I say a voice has thrilled me then,
Heard on the still and rushing light,
Or, creeping from the silent glen,
Like words from the departing night,
Hath stricken me, and I have pressed
On the wet grass my fevered brow,
And pouring forth the earliest
First prayer, with which I learned to bow,
Have felt my mother's spirit rush
Upon me as in by-past years,
And, yielding to the blessed gush
Of my ungovernable tears,
Have risen up—the gay, the wild—
As humble as a very child.

Miscellany.

THE POWER OF LOVE.

The following account of a most beautiful institution in Europe, is from Horace Mann's Seventh Annual Report to the Massachusetts board of education, recently published:

Some of the facts connected with the "Redemption Institute," at Hamburgh, are so extraordinary, and illustrate so forcibly the combined power of wisdom and love, in the reformation of vicious children, that I cannot forbear detailing them.

The school of Mr. J. H. Wichern, is called the "Rauhe Haus," and is situated four or five miles out of the city of Hamburgh. It was opened for the reception of abandoned children of the very lowest class; children brought up in the abodes of infamy, and taught, not only by example, but by precept, the vices of sensuality, thieving, and vagabondry—children who had never known the family tie, or who had known it only to see it violated. Hamburgh, having been for many years a *commercial*, and *free* city, and, of course, open to adventurers, and renegades, from all parts of the world, has many more of this class of population than its own institutions and manners would have bred. The thoughts of Mr. Wichern were strongly turned towards this subject, while yet a student at the university; but want of means, deterred him from engaging in it, until a legacy, left by Mr. Grecken, enabled him to make a beginning in 1833. He has since devoted his life, and all his worldly goods, to the work. It is his first aim, that the abandoned children whom he seeks out on the highway, and in the haunts of vice, shall know, and feel the blessings of *domestic* life; that they shall be introduced into the bosom of a family;—for this he regards as a divine institution, and therefore the birthright of every human being, and the only atmosphere in which the human affections can be adequately cultivated. His house, then, must not be a prison, or a place of punishment or confinement. The site he had chosen for his experiment, was one enclosed within high, strong walls and fences. His first act was to break down these barriers, and to take all bolts and bars from the doors and windows. He began with three boys of the worst description; and within three months the number increased to twelve. They were taken into the bosom of Mr. Wichern's family; his mother was their mother, and his sister their sister. They were not punished for any past offenses, but were told that all should be forgiven them, if they tried to do well in future. The defenseless condition of the premises was referred to, and they were assured that no walls or bolts were to detain them; that one cord only should bind them, and that the cord of Love. The effect attested the all but omnipotent power of generosity and affection. Children from seven or eight, to fifteen or sixteen years of age, in many of whom early and loathsome vices had nearly obliterated the stamp of humanity, were transformed not only into useful members of society, but into characters that endeared themselves to all within the sphere of their acquaintance. The education given to Mr. Wichern, has not been an æsthetic, or literary one. The children were told at the beginning, that labor was the price of living, and that they must earn their own bread, if they would secure a comfortable home. He did not point them to ease and affluence, but to an honorable poverty, which they were taught was not, in itself, an evil. There were means and materials for learning to support themselves; but there was no rich fund, or other resources, for their maintenance. Charity had supplied the home to which they were invited; their own industry must supply the rest. Mr. Wichern placed great reliance upon religious training; but this did not consist in giving them dry and unintelligible dogmas. He spoke to them of Christ, as the benefactor of mankind, who proved, by deeds of love, his interest in the race—who sought out the worst, and most benighted of men, to give them instruction and relief, and who left it in charge to those who came after him, and wished to be called his disciples, to do likewise. Is it strange that, enforced by such a practical exemplification of Christian love as their fatherly benefactor gave them in his every-day life, the story of Christ's words and deeds should have sunk deep into their hearts, and melted them into tenderness and docility? Such was the effect. The most rapid improvement ensued in a great majority of the children; even those whom long habits of idleness and vagabondry made it difficult to keep in the straight path, had long seasons of obedience and gratitude, to which any aberation from duty was only an exception.

As the number of pupils increased, Mr. Wichern saw that the size of the family would seriously impair its domestic character. To obviate this, he divided his company into families of twelve, and he has erected nine separate buildings, situated in a semi-circle around his own, and near to it, in each of which dwells a family of twelve boys, or of twelve girls, under the care of a house-father, or house-mother, as the assistants are respectively called. Each of these families is, to some extent, an independent community, having an individuality of its own. They eat and sleep in their own dwelling, and the children belonging to each, look up to their own particular father, or mother, as home-bred children to a parent. The general meeting every morning—at first in the chamber of Mr. Wichern's mother, but afterwards, when the numbers increased, in the little chapel—and their frequent meetings at work, or in the play-ground, form a sufficient, and in fact, a very close bond of union for the whole community. Much was done by the children themselves, in the erection of their little colony of buildings; and in doing this, they were animated by a feeling of hope, and a principle of independence, in providing a dwelling for themselves, while they experienced the pleasures of benevolence, in rendering assistance to each other. Mr. Wichern mentions with great satisfaction, the good spirit of the architect, who came upon the premises to direct in putting up the first house. The man would not retain a journeyman for a day, or an hour, who did not conduct with the utmost decorum and propriety before the children who were assisting in the work.

Instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, and drawing—and in some instances, in higher branches. Music is used as one of the most efficient instruments for softening stubborn wills, and calling forth tender feelings; and its deprivation is one of the punishments for delinquency. The songs and hymns have been specially adapted to the circumstances and wants of the community, and it has often happened, that the singing of an appropriate hymn, both at the gatherings in the mother's chamber, which were always more or less kept up, and in the little chapel, has awakened the first sacred feeling in obdurate and brutified hearts. Sometimes a voice would drop from the choir, and then weeping and sobbing would be heard, instead. The children would say they could not sing—they must think of their past lives, of their brothers and sisters, or of their parents, living in vice and misery at home. On several occasions, the singing exercise had to be given up. Frequently the children were sent out into the garden to recover themselves. An affecting narrative is recorded of a boy who ran away, but whom Mr. Wichern pursued, found, and persuaded to return. He was brought back on Christmas eve, which was always celebrated in the mother's chamber. The children were engaged in singing the Christmas hymns when he entered the room. At first, they manifested strong disapprobation of his conduct; for he was a boy to whose faults special forbearance had previously been shown. They were then told to decide among themselves how he should be punished. This brought them all to perfect silence, and after some whispering, and consulting together, one, who had formerly been guilty of the same fault of ingratitude, under still less excusable circumstances, burst out in a petition for his forgiveness. All united in it, reached out to him a friendly hand, and the festival of the Christmas eve was turned into a rejoicing, over the brother that had been lost, but was found. The pardon was not in words, merely, but in deeds. No reference to the fact was afterwards made. A day or two after, he was sent away on an errand, to the distance of half a mile. He was surprised and affected by this mark of confidence; and from that time, never abused his freedom, though entrusted to execute commissions at great distances. But he could never after hear certain Christmas hymns, without shedding tears; and long subsequently, in a confidential communication to Mr. Wichern, respecting some act of his former life, (an unburdening of the overladen conscience, which was very common with the inmates, and always voluntary; for they were told on their arrival, that their past life should never be spoken of, unless between them and himself,) he referred to the decisive effect of that scene of loving-kindness, upon his feelings and character.

One peculiar feature of this institution is, that the children are not stimulated by the worldly motives of fame, wealth, or personal aggrandizement. The superintendent does not inflame them with the ambition, that if they surpass each other at recitation, and make splendid displays at public examinations, they shall, in the end, become high military officers, or congressmen, or excite the envy of all by their wealth or fame. On the other hand, so far as this world's goods are concerned, he commends and habituates them to the idea of an honorable poverty; and the only riches with which he dazzles their imaginations, are the riches of good works. He looks to them as his hope for redeeming others from the sphere whence they themselves were taken; and there have been many touching instances of the reformation of parents and families, for whom the natural affection first sprang up in these children's hearts, after they had learned the blessings of home, and what the ties of nature really are.

One of the most interesting effects of this charity is, the charity wich it reproduces in its objects; and thus it is shown that, in the order of nature, the actions of good men—provided they are also wise—not less than good seed, will produce thirty, or sixty, or a hundred-fold of beneficent fruit. Mr. Wichern makes a great point of celebrating Christmas, and the friends of the school are in the habit of sending small sums of money, and articless of various kinds, to adorn the festival. This money has often been voluntarily appropriated, by the children, to charitable purposes. They frequently give away their pennies, and instances have happened, where they have literally emptied their little purses into the hands of poverty and distress, and taken off their own clothes to cover the naked. On one occasion, six poor children had been found by some of the scholars, and invited to the Christmas festival. There they were clothed, and many useful and pleasing articles, made by the givers, were presented to them. One of the boys read a passage from the history of Christ, and the Christmas songs, and other songs of thanksgiving and praise, were sung. To the sound of the organ, which a friend had presented to the little chapel, some verses, welcoming the strangers, succeeded. The guests then departed, blessing the house, and its kind inhabitants: but who can doubt that a voice of gladness, more precious than all worldly applause, sprang up unbidden, and exulting, in the hearts of the little benefactors?

From Mrs. Child's Mother's Book.

INTERESTING ANECDOTE.

The following anecdote is among the additions to the last edition, for sale by Charles S. Francis, of New-York. The mother alluded to, is our well known, and highly-valued friend, Lucrecia Mott.

I have a very judicious friend, the mother of a fine family. With her two first children, she acted upon the commonly received idea, that it was sometimes necessary to slap them when they were naughty. She observed, however, that this never failed to excite some degree of resentment, and more or less diverted their attention from the wrong they had done, to the injury they suffered. With her younger children she discontinued whipping, and substituted milder forms of punishment; such as shutting them up in a room by themselves, making them go to bed supperless, &c. This excited their evil feelings less; but in some degree, this likewise turned their attention from their own fault to the punishment inflicted. The accusation, which should have fallen with its whole weight on themselves, was partially bestowed on the parent. Something of resistance and rebellion was always roused, though its outward manifestation might be restrained by the fear of additional punishment. My friend was a wise woman, and she knew that it was far better to avoid contests with her children, than to come off victorious in them. The less the combative principle is roused into activity, before reason and conscience are mature enough to regulate it, the better. Habits of mind, whether good or bad, are strengthened in this way, as the muscles of a goldbeater's arm grows stout by constant use. If a child is of an obstinate temper, it is therefore better to treat any little matter of difference lightly, than to arouse his besetting sin by compulsory efforts to subdue him. It is better to keep his obstinacy as quiescent as possible, till he is old enough to be reasoned with, and thus taught to employ his perseverance for worthy and noble ends.

Acting upon this principle, of not arousing evil feelings, if possible to avoid it, my friend resolved to try, with her youngest girl, the effect of sorrow instead of penalty. She was very volatile, and her mother had many doubts whether the experiment would prove successful. The first time she tried it, was on the occasion of visiting a relative. The child was extremely desirous to accompany her parents, but was told that it was unsuitable for her to be out so late as they intended to stay. Habitual firmness had taught her that teasing was of no avail; and she soon gave up the effort. At parting, her mother told her to be a good girl, and go quietly to bed at eight o'clock, and in the morning she should hear all about the visit. At ten o'clock, her parents returned, and seated themselves at the parlor fire, chatting over the events of the evening. Presently they heard a timid, half-suppressed giggle; and, looking round, they saw little Mary peeping from under the table. "My daughter, how is it that you are not in bed?" said her mother, calmly. The little rogue stole forth from her hiding-place, and looked very sheepish, as she answered, "Why, mother, I wanted to sit up till you come back." "But I told you to go to bed at eight. My little daughter knows she has done very wrong."

The culprit stood awhile in perplexity. She expected to be ordered instantly to bed, or at least to be reproved. But her parents went on talking with each other, as if she were not in the room; and at last, she hesitatingly drew up her little stool, and seated herself at her mother's side. After a while, she plucked up courage to ask about the visit. Who was there? Did anybody say anything about me? &c. Her mother answered all her questions, very kindly, though somewhat sadly. At length she said, "Mother, I think it is time for me to go to bed." "Well, Mary, let me unpin your clothes. It is bright moonlight, and you will need no lamp. Do not waken Elizabeth."

The child lingered, and hesitated, and at last said, "May I kiss you and father! They drew her toward them, imprinted a kiss on her lips, and bade her an affectionate good night.

After she had gone, they queried with each other, whether this mode of treatment would make her think lightly of her fault, and more prone to be disobedient in future. She was such a frolicksome, thoughtless child, that they were not without fears, that it might be so. They were even doubtful whether she noticed the sadness of their tones, when they kissed her and bade her good night; for she went away smiling, and tripped lightly up stairs. But when her mother retired for the night, she had scarcely placed her head on the pillow, before she heard little bare feet padding across the entry floor; and a moment after, a little curly head was on her bosom, sobbing out, "Oh, mother, dear, I can't go to sleep. Forgive me. I know I did very wrong."

Sweet moments of reconciliation passed between parents and child, in the still moonlight; and then the little one went to her pillow, and slept as the lambs sleep.

The perfect kindness with which she had been treated, while she felt that her parents had been grieved by her conduct, left no work for the heart to do, but to accuse herself; and only by confession and repentance could she be at peace.

THE LAST OF THE SERPENTS.

Sure, everybody has heard tell of the blessed St. Patrick, and how he drove the serpents, and all manner of venemous things, out of Ireland. But there was one old serpent who was too cunning to be talked out of the country, and made to drown himself. Saint Patrick didn't well know how to manage this fellow, who was making great havoc, till at last he bethought himself, and got a strong iron chest made, with nine bolts upon it.

So one fine morning he takes a walk to where the serpent used to keep; and the serpent who didn't like the saint in the least, began to hiss and show his teeth at him, like anything. "O," says St. Patrick, says he, "where's the use of making such a piece of work about a gentleman like myself coming to see you? 'Tis a nice house that I have got made for you agin the winter; for I am going to civilize the whole country, man and beast," says he, "and you can come and look at it whenever you please; and 'tis myself will be glad to see you."

The serpent hearing such smooth words, thought that though St. Patrick had driven all the rest of the serpents into the sea, he meant no harm to him. So the serpent walks fair and easy up to see him and the house he was speaking about. But when he saw the nine great bolts upon the chest, he thought he was sowld, (betrayed,) and was for making off with himself as fast as ever he could.

"'Tis a nice warm house, you see," says St. Patrick, "and 'tis a good friend I am to you."

"I thank you kindly, Saint Patrick, for your civility," says the serpent, "but I think its too small for me,"—meaning it for an excuse—and away he was going. "Too small!" says St. Patrick, "stop, if you please," says he; "you're out in that, my boy, any how. I am sure 't will fit you completely; and I'll tell you what," says he, "I'll bet you a gallon of porter," says he, "that if you will only try to get in, there'll be plenty of room for you." The serpent was as thirsty as he could be with his walk, and 't was great joy to him the thought of doing St. Patrick out of the gallon of porter; so, swelling himself up as large as he could, in he got to the chest, all but a little of his tail.

"There now," says he, "I've won the gallon, for you see the house is too small for me, for I can't get in my tail?" when, what does St. Patrick do, but come behind the great heavy lid of the chest, and, putting his two hands to it, down he slaps it with a great noise. When the rogue of a serpent saw the lid coming down, in went his tail, like a shot, for fear of being whipped off him, and St. Patrick began at ouce to secure the nine iron bolts.

"O!" murder! Won't you let me out. St. Patrick?" says the serpent. "I've lost the bet fairly, and I'll pay you the gallon like a man."

"Let you out, my darling?" says Saint Patrick, "to be sure I will, by all manner of means, but you see I havn't time now, so you must wait until to-morrow." And so he took the iron chest, with the serpent in it, and pitches it into the lake here, where it is to this hour, for certain, and 't is the serpent struggling down at the bottom that makes the waves upon it. Many is the living man, continued Picket, besides myself, has heard the serpent crying out from within the chest, under the water, "Is it to-morrow, yet? Is it to-morrow yet?"

Which, to be sure, it never can be. And that is the way St. Patrick settled the last of the serpents. But there was another serpent after that who took passage on board a ship, and came all the way along from Arabia, and went to Ireland. For St. Patrick did not kill the serpents off the island, but only those that were there. Whether this was the same kind or not, I will leave for our readers to judge. He had a great long mouth, and a most voracious appetite; for he swallowed up farms, houses, cattle, and sometimes whole villages; and he made the green isle a most wretched looking place.

This serpent was very prolific; his progeny was scattered all over the country, and every now and then you would see their smoking houses, and if you dare venture in, you would see lots of little serpents all coiled up ready to jump at you. And when it was dark, they would crawl out, and go about the country, casting out their saliva of death all about them. They became so numerous at last it was dangerous to travel even in the day time, for they became so bold that they would get round your legs, and trip you up, and leave you sprawling in the mud. Father Mathew came along one day, and says he, "What are you 'bout here, Mr. Serpent? What have you thrown that man in the gutter for?" "None of your business," says the serpent," he was in my way, and I tripped him up, (down,) and you had better let me alone, or I will trip you up." "You saucy reptile," cried Father Mathew, and with that he gave him a kick and sent him headlong over the fence.—"I'll fight you till I die but what I will kill every soul of you. You have no business in our country, and you shall quit it in short order." So Father Mathew gets a piece of paper, and signs a declaration of war against the serpent, and goes all about and gets others to sign it too. So after a while he gets a great many of his friends together, and pitches battle against the serpent. It was a bloody time, I tell you, for at it they went. The serpents hissed and blew clouds of smoke all over the island, and they thought they could smoke Father Mathew out. But 't was no use, their fires all went out, and the hissing was fainter and fainter, till at last you could hear no hiss, and see only now and then a straggling smoke. Father Mathew conquered, and they are going to have a great funeral one of these days, and bury all the serpents in the sea. They mean to exterminate him, and leave not so much as a piece of his tail.

From the Baton Rouge Gazette.

EXTRAORDINARY DISCOVERY.

Professor Van Grusselbach, of Stockholm, has very lately brought to a state of perfection the art of producing a torpor in the whole system, by the application of cold, of degrees of intensity proceeding from a lesser to a greater, so as to cause the human body to become perfectly torpid, without permanent injury to any organ or tissue of the frame. In this they may remain one hundred or a thousand years, and again, after a sleep of ages, be awakened to existence, as fresh and blooming as they were when they first sunk into this frigorific slumber.

The attention of the learned professor was first led to the subject, by finding a toad enclosed in a solid fragment of calcareous rock, ten feet in diameter, which, when taken out, showed unequivocal signs of life—but it is supposed that the concussion caused by blasting the rock occasioned its death in a few hours after. The opinion of Baron Gronthizen, who is at present geologist to the king of Sweden, was that it must have been in that situation, for at least seven thousand years—and his calculations were drawn from the different layers or strata by which it was surrounded. From this hint the professor proceeded to make experiments, and after a painful and laborious course of experiments, for the last twenty-nine years of his life, he at last succeeded in perfecting the great discovery. Not less than sixty thousand reptiles, shell-fish, &c. were experimented on before he tried the human subject. The process is not laid entirely before the public as yet, but I had the honor, in company with a friend, of visiting the professor.

I shall give a slight description of one of the outer rooms containing some of his preparations. Previous to entering, we were furnished with an India rubber bag, to which was attached a mask, with glass eyes. This was put on to prevent the temperature of the room from being raised the slightest degree by our breathing. It was a circular room, lighted from the top by the sun's rays, from which the heat was entirely disengaged by its passage through glass, &c. colored by the oxide of copper, (a late discovery, and very valuable to the professor.) The room is shelved all round, and contains nearly one thousand specimens of animals. One was a Swedish girl, aged, from appearance, about nineteen years—she was consigned to the professor by order of the government, to experiment upon, having been guilty of murdering her child. With the exception of slight paleness, she appears as if asleep, although she has been in a state of complete torpor for two years. He intends to resuscitate her in five more years, and convince the world of the soundness of his wonderful discovery. The professor, to gratify us, took a small snake out of his cabinet into another room, and although it appeared to us to be perfectly dead, and rigid as marble, by application of a mixture of Cayenne pepper and brandy it showed immediate signs of life, and was apparently as active as ever it was, in a minute, although the professor assured us it had been in a state of torpor for six years.

The above is an extract of a letter from a young American now traveling in Europe.

From the Norwich Courier.

ANECDOTE OF MR. CLAY.

The following anecdote of Henry Clay, so eminently characteristic of the man, and so honorable to the statesman, we have upon the authority of a distinguished senator of the United States. We give it, as nearly as we are able, in the language in which we had it from the lips of the honorable senator himself.

It was during the last session of Mr. Clay's service in the Senate—that session during which the nomination of Edward Everett, as minister to England, was confirmed. It will be remembered that, for a number of weeks after the nomination of Mr. Everett, great suspense and anxiety were felt throughout the country, as to the course which the Senate might take upon the question of the confirmation. The southern members, or at least a portion of them, demanded his rejection, on the ground of his having expressed sentiments upon the subject of abolition highly offensive to the South, and such as the South was called upon, both directly and indirectly, to rebuke and condemn. Matters stood thus, when at the close, or near the close, of one of the executive sessions of the Senate, on a long summer's day, Mr. Clay had left his seat, and taking up his broad brimmed straw hat, which he was accustomed to wear in the warm season, began walking slowly backward and forward near the door of the Senate, expecting every moment that an adjournment would take place. Just then a senator from the South, whose name the gentleman to whom we are indebted for these facts did not feel himself at liberty to mention, rose in his place, and called the attention of the Senate to a published correspondence which he held in his hand, between Mr. Everett and certain abolitionists, who had addressed to him a series of questions touching the subject of slavery. The correspondence had taken place at a time when, if we recollect rightly, Mr. Everett was candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

The language used by Mr Everett, said the narrator, was strong, stronger than we of——should consider to have been justifiable. The senator having read the correspondence, made it the text of a strong denunciatory speech against Mr. Everett, earnestly and vehemently appealing to the representatives of the southern interests and institutions of that body, to rebuke such sentiments, by rejecting the nomination of the man by whom they were put forth. This correspondence, together with the speech of the senator who brought it forward, arrested the attention of the whole Senate, and awakened new and strong apprehensions among the friends of Mr. Everett, as to the fate of his nomination. Soon after the senator in question had risen from his seat and commenced speaking, Mr. Clay was observed to pause in his walk to and fro; and as the senator from the south, proceeded in his speech, he (Mr. C.) became, evidently, more and more interested, till, at length, he gradually returned to his accustomed seat, and was standing by it, when the gentlemen who was occupying the floor finished his speech with the following emphatic language:—"If, under the circumstances, Mr. President, the Senate shall confirm the nomination of Mr. Everett, *I consider the Union virtually dissolved.*"

"And I say, sir," said Mr. Clay, instantly taking up the words of the honorable senator, "that if this Senate, sitting on the nomination of Mr. Everett, or any other man as a minister to a foreign court, shall take upon itself to reject that nomination, on the ground that the person nominated has expressed to his neighbors and fellow-citizens of the State to which he belongs, sentiments not in accordance with our own, yet in no way impeaching his character, or affecting his qualification for the post to which he is nominated;—then, sir," said Mr. Clay, elevating himself to his full height, and raising his voice to that clarion-like tone of impassioned eloquence for which he, above all living men, is so justly distinguished, "then, sir, I tell the honorable gentleman and the Senate, THAT WE HAVE NO LONGER ANY UNION TO DISSOLVE!" Proceeding from this point, Mr. C. poured forth, for the space of about ten minutes, the most eloquent speech I ever heard from him in all my life. "And that speech," said the gentlemen from whom these facts were derived, "*settled the question of Everett's nomination.*"

Fom the London Times.

OSCAR I. KING OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN.*

The great qualities, the high achievements, and the renown of Charles John have hitherto eclipsed those of Oscar. Nevertheless, we may confidentially affirm that the son is worthy of the father, and that he will continue to pursue the glorious path which the former has traced out.

Oscar was born in Paris, in July, 1799, and consequently he will shortly complete his forty-fifth year.

At the time of his birth his father was commanding the army of reserve on the Rhine, and was in the same year appointed Minister of War. His mother was Desirée Clary, the sister of Joseph Bonaparte's wife. In 1796, Napoleon had been a suitor for this lady's hand. In one of his letters, he said, "I will insure to you a brilliant lot. Possibly, I may pass away like a meteor, but I venture to predict that my passage will be long remembered." Mademoiselle de Clary's father, a rich merchant at Marseilles, refused Napoleon, (then general-in chief of the army in Italy,) observing, that he thought one Bonaparte enough in his family.

In 1804 Oscar, then five years of age, joined his father, who was governor of the kingdom of Hanover. He was placed at a school where the sons of some of the best families in the country were his companions. His education took a German rather than a French direction, and he imbibed that taste for the literature and the languages of the North which he has constantly retained. Oscar came to Sweden with his father in 1811, since which time he has scarcely ever quitted the country. He has so identified himself with Sweden, that he seldom speaks any other language than the Swedish; and he writes it with a degree of purity, of which several of his printed works bear evidence. Immediately on his arrival in Sweden, the education of the young prince was consigned exclusively to Swedish masters. The good fruits of that education are manifested in his solid and extensive information, and his truly national spirit.

Prince Oscar accompanied his father in the campaign in Norway, in the year 1814, and thereby acquired some experience in warlike operations. He has a taste for the military art, though he is not exclusively devoted to it. He can manœuvre with admirable skill a corps of infantry or cavalry, or both together. His knowledge of artillery is extensive, and perfectly practical. He has, therefore, been appropriately created grand master of the artillery of the two kingdoms (master general of the ordnance.)

The variety or his tastes for different branches of military science has not prevented him from making very extensive acquisitions in several other departments of knowledge, particularly in philology and geography. Having been the pupil of Berzelius, so great is his knowledge of chemistry, that Sir Humphry Davy declared he never saw so much in an unprofessional person. Besides these eminent qualities the prince expresses himself in public speaking with elegance and facility, and he has manifested extraordinary talent in translating rapidly into Swedish or Norwegian the speeches which his father used to extemporise in French.

His countenance is handsome, his features regular, his figure noble and well proportioned, and his look is full of amenity. His manner displays more of the calmness of a native of the North than the vivacity which might be expected in one of French extraction.

He has well discharged all his high state duties as prince royal, and has at four different times, owing to the king's ill health, had in his hands the government of the kingdom of Sweden, and he was long viceroy of Norway. He has, moreover exercised the functions of hancellor of the universities of Upsala, Lund, and Christiana, of high admiral, and as we have already said of Commander of the Artillery. In consequence of his attention to the execution of these duties, and his careful study of everything relating to the two kingdoms, King Oscar ascends the throne better prepared, and with the possession of more instruction, than any crown prince who has preceeded him.

He married, 20 years ago, Josephine, the daughter of Eugene Beauharnois, Duke of Leuchtenberg, (one of the great characters of our age) by a princess of Bavaria, sister of the present king of the latter kingdom. Four sons and one daughter are the issue of this marriage.

The succession to the throne is the more firmly secured to his family by the descent of his sons from their grandmother, the princess of Bavaria, a descent which brings them nearer to the ancient house of Vasa than the prince is who takes that name, and who really is only Prince of Holstein Gottorp.

*The journals have designated His Majesty as "Oscar II." but there has been no King of Sweden named Oscar before the present

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN MAINE.

Our readers will remember that the right of married women to their property was urged upon the legislature last winter by this paper, and also by the Yankee Blade. The result of the discussion of this question may have escaped their notice. It is with the highest satisfaction, therefore, that we record the fact that an "Act to secure to married women their right in property," was carried triumphantly through both branches of that body, last month, and received the governor's approval on the 22d ult. The following are its provisions:

Sec. 1.—Any married woman may become seized or possessed of any property, real or personal, by direct bequest, demise, gift, purchase or distribution, in her own name, and as of her own property; provided, it shall be made to appear by such married woman, in any issue touching the validity of her title, that the same does not in any way come from the husband after coverture.

Sec. 2d.—Hereafter, when any woman possessed of property, real, or personal, shall marry, such property shall continue to her notwithstanding her coverture, and she shall have, hold, and possess the same, as her separate property, exempt from any liability for the debts or contracts of the husband.

Sec. 3.—Any married woman possessing property by virtue of this act, may release to the husband the right of control of such property, and he may receive and dispose of the income thereof, so long as the same shall be appropriated for the mutual benefit of the parties.

The passage of this law is alone worth the expense o the whole session. It wipes from our statute-book a foul wrong.—*Portland American.*

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

Broughton Meadows,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by Alexander Hamilton; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job.* xvii. 8.

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by